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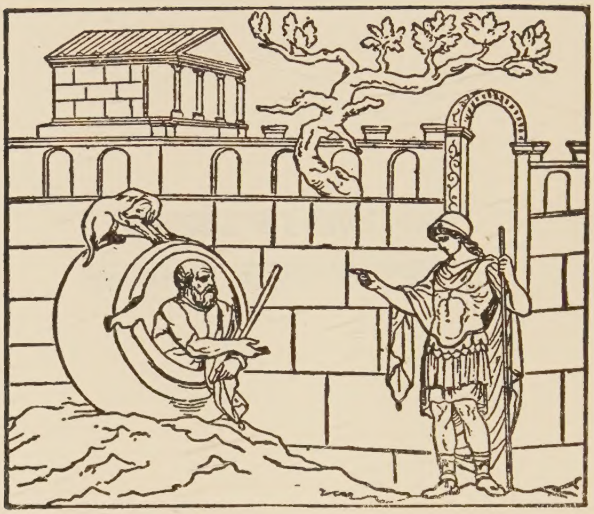
DIOGENES OF SINOPE

A STUDY OF GREEK CYNICISM



Restoration of a relief carving found near Rome, depicting the meeting of Alexander and Diogenes and locating it at Athens. The carving is believed to belong to the middle of the 1st century A.D. Cf. W. Amelung, American Journal of Archaeology, Vol. 31, No. 3.

DIOGENES OF SINOPE

A STUDY OF GREEK CYNICISM

BY

FARRAND SAYRE

EXTRACT FROM

A Dissertation submitted to the Board of University Studies of The Johns Hopkins University in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

1938

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
Greek Cynicism	1
The Sources of Cynicism	29
Antisthenes the Socratic	48
Diogenes of Sinope	71
The Diogenes Legend	99
Bibliography	131
Sources of Information	133
Index	135
Vita	141

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GREEK CYNICISM

Diogenes Laertius expresses doubt as to whether "Cynicism was really a philosophy and not, as some maintain, just a way of life" (6, 103). It was sometimes spoken of as a life according to nature. "Cynicism is, as you know, an investigation of nature" (42nd Letter of Diogenes). "Nature has many lessons which we may draw from life and include in our teaching" (6th Letter of Diogenes). The Emperor Julian says; "It (Cynicism) seems to be in some ways a universal philosophy and the most natural, and to demand no special study whatsoever" (6th Oration 187).

The Cynics referred to the habits of animals as a guide for human conduct. "Through watching a mouse running about, says Theophrastus in the Megarian dialogue, not looking for a place to lie down in, not afraid of the dark, not seeking any of the things which are considered to be dainties, he (Diogenes) discovered the means of adapting himself to circumstances" (D. L. 6, 22). When Diogenes saw a snail carrying its shell, he countermanded his order for a house, because it gave him the idea of living in an empty water jar (πίθος) (16th Letter of Diogenes; cf. 36th Letter; Dio Chrysostom, 10th Disc. 29-30); Lucian, Cynicus 14-15; D. L. 6, 33 & 60, etc.).

The Cynic "life according to nature" was a slump towards animalism and a retrogression from civilization. When Diogenes learned to eat his food from a hollowed out piece of bread he was no longer dependent upon a platter (D. L. 6, 37; 13th Letter of Diogenes). Seneca says; "How, I ask, can you consistently admire both Diogenes and Daedalus? Which of these two seems a wise man—the one who devised the saw, or the one who, on seeing a boy drink water from the hollow of his hand, forthwith took his cup from his wallet and broke it, upbraiding himself with these words, 'Fool that I was, to have been carrying superfluous baggage all this time,' and then curled himself up in his tub and lay down to sleep" (Epist. Morales 90, 14; Cf. D. L. 6,

37; 6th & 13th Letters of Diogenes). Here Daedalus represents progressive civilization, Diogenes a repudiation of it.

The attitude of the Cynics towards pleasure seems to have varied at different periods, probably also with different individuals, and our information of it contains inconsistencies. The professed object of the early Cynics was happiness. Julian says, "Their (Diogenes and Crates) main concern was how they might themselves attain to happiness" (6th Oration 201). "Many, when they hear of a short cut leading to happiness, seek happiness like us in philosophy" (12th Letter of Diogenes; cf. 30th Letter). "Telephus concealed himself in this form of life in order to gain health, Ulysses did so in order to kill the suitors who had wronged him, I that I may gain happiness" (34th Letter of Diogenes).

That this conception of happiness did not exclude pleasure is shown by the following; "I came quickly upon the road to happiness. Arriving at the place where Happiness resided, I said, 'I remain, O Happiness, on account of you and drink water and eat water cress and sleep on the ground.' She answered me and said, 'I will make hardships more pleasant for you than the benefits to be obtained from wealth, which men prefer and ask of me, not perceiving that they are entrusting themselves to a tyrant.' When I heard Happiness say that eating and drinking these things was not training but pleasure, it impelled me to this way of living" (37th Letter of Diogenes). Stobaeus quotes Teles as saying, "One who is happy is one who is free from suffering and trouble. A man who is in pain and grief and fear—how can he have a pleasant life? And how can any one who has not a pleasant life be happy?" (Flor. 4, 108, 83). Dio Chrysostom ascribes positive pleasures to Diogenes. "He (Diogenes) got more pleasure, too, out of sunning himself and more pleasure in eating his food than they (the rich) did. But the seasons were by far his greatest delight. . . . And so he used to partake of a barley cake with greater pleasure than others did of the costliest of foods, and enjoyed a drink from a stream of running water more than others did their Thasian wine" (6, 9-12).

Maximus of Tyre describes Diogenes as a hedonist. "Pleasure led Diogenes into his tub. And if virtue accompanied him, why should pleasure be excluded? Diogenes enjoyed life in his tub, as Xerxes enjoyed Babylon. . . . If you compare pleasure with pleasures, those of Diogenes are greater. The lives of others were filled with pleasures, but were everywhere mingled with grief. . . . But the pleasures of Diogenes were free from lamentations, wailing, tears or grief. . . . I will make bold to say that no one was ever more truly a lover of pleasure than Diogenes" (Diss. 3, 9).

In early Cynic writings Cynicism is called "the short road to happiness." Crates is represented as writing "That of Diogenes is found to be the short road to happiness" (13th Letter); also, "If this way of being a philosopher is unpleasant, it is a short cut. It leads to happiness, even though, as Diogenes said, we have to walk through fire" (6th Letter). The reference here appears to be to the 30th Letter of Diogenes, in which we find, "I, feeling my superiority to hardship, preferred the steep and difficult road, for the desire for happiness was urgent upon me though it should carry me through fire and swords." Crates is also represented as writing; "Do not shun practising (Cynicism) but avoid discoursing, for the long road to happiness is through discourses, but that through the daily practice of deeds is the short way" (21st Letter).

But in later writings we find Cynicism spoken of as a "short road to virtue." "The Cynics say that they have found a short cut and, as it were, a forced march to virtue" (Plutarch, Amatorius 759). "They (Cynics) also dispense with the ordinary subjects of instruction . . . hence it has been said that Cynicism is a short cut to virtue" (D. L. 6, 104). "Cynicism being a short cut to virtue as Apollodorus calls it in his Ethics" (D. L. 7, 121). "They (Cynics) say that they are traveling the short and ready road to virtue. I would that they were going by the longer. For they would more readily arrive by that road than by this of theirs" (Julian, 7, 225). Why should "virtue" have been substituted for "happiness" as the Cynic objective? They were beg-

gars and they may have found that teachers of virtue were more likely to receive contributions than men who were merely seeking their own happiness.

The Cynics sometimes posed as enemies of pleasure. Lucian represents a Cynic as saying, "My cloak is my lion's skin. Like Hercules I live in a state of warfare and my enemy is pleasure. . . . My purpose is to purify humanity" (Vitarum auctio 10). Dio Chrysostom represents Diogenes as saying; "The noble man holds his hardships to be great antagonists . . . grappling with hunger and cold, withstanding thirst and disclosing no weakness even though he must endure the lash or give his body to be cut or burned. Hunger, exile, loss of reputation and the like have no terrors for him. . . . But there is another battle more terrible and a struggle not slight but much greater than this and fraught with greater danger, I mean the fight against pleasure. . . . Pleasure assails a man through each and every sense that he has; and while he must face and grapple with hardships, to pleasure he must give the widest berth possible and have none but unavoidable dealings with her" (8, 20). Dio also represents Diogenes as saying; "Many and mighty antagonists have I vanquished, . . . I mean poverty, exile and disrepute; yes, and anger, pain, desire, fear and the most redoubtable beast of all, treacherous and cowardly, I mean pleasure . . . all alike have succumbed to her . . . all, that is, save myself" (9, 12).

How much sincerity can we believe that there was in this talk of "warfare against pleasure?" Lucian says, "To hear them, you would say they were at war with pleasure and Epicurus their bitterest foe; yet nothing do they do but for pleasure's sake" (The Runaways 19).

The inconsistency can be partly explained by the supposition that the Cynics denounced the pleasures of others, while indulging themselves without stint in their own. "This very man (Diogenes) used to maintain how much he surpassed the Persian king in his manner of life and fortune; for that he himself was in want of nothing, while the other never had enough; and that he had no inclination for those pleasures of which the other could never

get enough to satisfy himself; and that the other could never obtain his" (Cicero, Tusc. Disp. 5, 32).

But the Cynics, by boasting that the life which they led was more pleasant than any other, and at the same time claiming to be waging war against pleasure involved themselves in a confusion which is illustrated by the following; "For even the despising of pleasure is itself most pleasurable, when we are habituated to it; and just as those accustomed to a life of pleasure feel disgust when they pass over to the opposite experience, so those whose training has been of the opposite kind derive more pleasure from despising pleasures than from the pleasures themselves" (D. L. 6, 71). This confusion is consistent with the theory that the Cynics shifted from a frank hedonism to an ostensible moralism and in some cases tried to retain both. They do not appear to have assigned any rational ground for their warfare against pleasure or to have discriminated between different kinds of pleasures.

The Cynics never had any canon or body of authoritative writings similar to those of the Stoics or Epicureans, but they had a set of characteristic ideas which can be traced by means of certain words to which they sometimes gave new or special meanings and which developed into a Cynic cant. The word "virtue" (ἀρετή) was much used by the later Cynics. Lucian says; "As soon as I came to Elis in going up by way of the gymnasium I overheard a Cynic bawling out the usual street corner invocation to Virtue in a loud harsh voice and abusing everyone without exception" (Peregrinus 3). But it is not easy to determine what significance this word could have had to a Cynic. It could not have included any of the civic or domestic virtues, for the Cynics were anarchists who repudiated obligations to both family and state and opposed marriage.

It could not have included honesty, for ancient tradition did not connect Diogenes with honesty. "He (Diogenes) saw no impropriety in stealing anything from a temple" (D. L. 6, 73; cf. D. L. 6, 20-21). The doctrine that "all things belong to the wise" (D. L. 6, 11, 37 & 72; 10th Letter of Diogenes; 26th &

27th Letters of Crates) was not conducive to respect for property rights. Lucian calls the Cynics "cats for thievery" (The Fisher). Julian compares them with pirates and bandits and says of a Cynic teacher (Oenomaus); "This then is his aim, to do away with all reverence for the gods, to bring dishonor on all human wisdom, to trample on all law that can be identified with honor and justice, and more than this, to trample on those laws which have been as it were engraved on our souls by the gods. . . . Robbers take cover in desert places, whereas the Cynics go up and down in our midst subverting the institutions of society, and that not by introducing a better and purer state of things but a worse and more corrupt state" (7, 209-210). Cicero says, "As to the whole system of the Cynics, we are absolutely to reject it, because it is inconsistent with moral susceptibility, without which nothing can be honest, nothing can be virtuous" (De Officiis 1, 14).

It could not have included sexual morality for the Cynics advocated promiscuous sexual intercourse, including incest (D. L. 6, 72; Philodemus, On the Stoics; Dio Chrysostom 10, 29-30). The Cynics were non-intellectual and even anti-intellectual and hence could not have identified virtue with knowledge, as Socrates did (Aristotle, Eudem. Ethics 1, 5).

"To the Greeks goodness was always something positive; it meant a habit of the soul that enabled the possessor of it to do something" (John Burnet, Gr. Phil., Thales to Plato, p. 173). When Protagoras claims to make men better, Socrates comes back with the question, "In what and for what?" (Plato, Protagoras 318). Protagoras answers that his pupil will learn "to order his own house in the best manner, and he will be able to speak and act for the best in the affairs of the state"; he says further that his object is "to make men good citizens" (Ibid. 318-319; cf. Plato, Meno). Virtue could not have had any such positive sense to the Cynics, for Cynicism was a doctrine of inaction and negation of life. The word "virtue" seems to have had for the Cynics no other meaning than leading a Cynic life and the possession of Cynic characteristics—hardihood, poverty, indifference, apathy, etc.

The Cynics made frequent use of the word ἄσκησις, from which is derived our word asceticism. "The original meaning of the word ἀσκεῖν, as used by Homer, was to 'work' or 'fashion' raw materials. Thus he speaks of 'working' wool (ἠσκεῖν εἴρια, γ 388) and of 'worked' yarn (νῆμα ἀσκητόν, Δ 134). From this was derived a secondary meaning, to work upon oneself, that is, to 'practice' or 'exercise' and especially to 'train.' Now from the days of Hesiod, it had been taught in Greece that virtue could be attained only in labor. While he also uses the word in other senses, he says in one passage that 'more are good from training (ἄσκησις) than from nature' (Frag. 242). Similarly Protagoras says that 'one should receive education from nature and training' (Frag. 3)" (J. W. Swain, The Hellenic Origins of Christian Asceticism, p. 47).

D. L. says of Diogenes, "In summer he used to roll in it (his πίθος) over hot sand, while in winter he used to embrace statues covered with snow, using every means to inuring himself to hardship" (6, 23). He is also said to have walked on snow barefoot (D. L. 6, 34). "He even attempted to eat meat raw, but could not manage to digest it" (D. L. 6, 34). "He (Diogenes) once begged alms of a statue, and when asked why he did so, replied, 'To get practice in being refused'" (D. L. 6, 49; 11th Letter of Diogenes). "The man from Sinope went to houses of ill-fame and insulted and wrangled with the inmates. What did he seek? To learn to bear insults calmly, meeting them with insults" (Gregory Nazianzen, Carmina Moralia 494-496; cf. D. L. 6, 90). These stories indicate that the practices described were merely a hardening process, intended as a preparation for the Cynic way of life; they differed from the ascetic practices of the Christian eremites, which were regarded as meritorious in themselves and a preparation for a future life. The Christian sought purity, while the Cynic sought freedom. The practices ascribed to Diogenes do not seem to have been followed by later Cynics; with them the word ἄσκησις seems to refer merely to following or practicing the Cynic form of life. Training is discussed by Epictetus (Arrian 3, 12) and by D. L. (6, 70).

The word πόνος ordinarily meant labor; thus we read of the twelve πόνοι of Hercules. When the Cynics accepted Hercules as their patron saint—perhaps in the 2nd century B. C.—they may have taken the word πόνος with him. But labor did not enter into the Cynic scheme of life and they restricted the meaning of the word to hardship (Dio Chrysostom 8, 28). Labor was regarded as an evil and was connected with the idea of hardship, as appears from the following. "All that costly array of means of enjoyment which you so gloat over is obtained only at the price of labor of the body and vexation of the mind. Consider, if you please, the gold that is so sought after, the silver, the luxurious houses, the elaborate clothing—and then remember through how much toil and trouble and danger these have been acquired—yes, and through how many men's blood and death and ruin. To bring these things to you many seamen must perish; to find and fashion them many laborers must endure misery. . . . I enjoy the things that cost the least trouble to prepare" (Lucian, Cynicus).

The early Stoic leaders retained many Cynic ideas (D. L. 7, 121) and the attitude of the Cynics toward labor is probably expressed in the following quotation from Chrysippus; "And yet what reason is there that he (the wise man) should provide a living? For if it be to support life, life is after all a thing indifferent. If it be for pleasure, pleasure too is a thing indifferent. While if it be for virtue, virtue in itself is sufficient to constitute happiness. The modes of getting a livelihood are also ludicrous" (D. L. 7, 189).

Lactantius says; "Diogenes, with a multitude of his dogs (canum), who professed that high and complete virtue—the contempt of all possessions—preferred to beg for food rather than gain it by honorable labor or to have anything of his own. Certainly the life of a wise man should be an example to others. But if every one should imitate their wisdom, how are cities to continue to exist?" (Institutionum Epitome 34). Plutarch says, "The exile . . . has leisure, can walk about, read, sleep without being disturbed, and can say like Diogenes, 'Aristotle has to dine when Philip thinks fit, Diogenes can dine at any time he himself

chooses,' having no business, or magistrate or prefect to put him out of his general habits of living" (On Exile 12).

Lucian narrates what he calls "An old anecdote about the Sinopean; a report that Philip was marching on the town had thrown all Corinth into a bustle; one was furbishing his arms, another wheeling stones, a third patching the wall, a fourth strengthening a battlement, every one making himself useful somehow or other. Diogenes having nothing to do—of course no one thought of giving *him* a job—was moved by the sight to gird up his philosopher's cloak and begin rolling his tub-dwelling energetically up and down the Craneum. An acquaintance asked and got the explanation, 'I do not want to be thought the only idler in such a busy multitude; I am rolling my tub to be like the rest'" (Quomodo historia conscribenda sit). This story may be a Cynic jibe at the uselessness of war; but it also shows the uselessness of the Cynic.

Maximus of Tyre says; "The Sinopean from Pontus, having consulted Apollo, stripped off all superfluities, freed himself from fetters and went about the earth entirely free, like a bird, not fearing tyrants, not constrained by any law, not disturbed by politics, not hampered by rearing children, not restricted by marriage, not intent upon agriculture, not troubled by military service nor interested in markets" (Diss. 36, 5). Seneca says, "The wise man (Diogenes) was easy going in his way of living" (Epist. Morales 90, 14). Lucian says of Demonax, "Probably he had most in common with Socrates, although he seemed to follow the man of Sinope in dress and in easy going ways" (Demonax 5). Gregory Nazianzen says of Diogenes, "His food was whatever was near and did not require labor" (Poemata Theologica 2, 227). An epitaph of Diogenes credited him with "pointing out to mortals . . . the easiest path of life" (D. L. 6, 78).

The easy life of the Cynic is explained by Dio Chrysostom; "From public affairs, lawsuits, rivalries, wars and factions he (Diogenes) kept himself clear. He tried especially to imitate the life of the gods, for they alone, as Homer asserts (Od. 4, 805), live at ease, implying that the life of man is full of labor and

hardships" (6, 31). Tertullian voices the Cynic point of view as follows. "I owe no duty to the forum, the election ground or the senate; I am . . . no barking pleader, no judge, no soldier, no king; I have withdrawn from the populace. My only business is with myself. I have no care save not to care. The better life you would more enjoy in seclusion than in publicity. But you will decry me as indolent. . . . None is born for another, being destined to die for himself" (De Pallio 5).

Julian says, addressing a Cynic; "Do you really think it so great an achievement to carry a staff and let your hair grow, and haunt cities and camps uttering calumnies against the noblest men and flattering the vilest? . . . You criticise everybody, though you yourself do nothing to deserve praise" (7, 223-236). The following, of the 1st century A. D., is a description of a beggar rather than of a teacher; "He whom you often see, Cosmus, within the sanctuary of our patroness Pallas and on the threshold of the new temple, this old man with a staff and a wallet, his white hair stiff with filth, and whose foul beard falls upon his breast, who covers himself on his wretched bed with a wax colored cloak—his only wife, and to whom the passers by give the food he barks for; you, deceived by false appearances, think him a Cynic: he is not a Cynic, Cosmus. What is he then? A dog" (M. Valerius Martialis, Epigrams 4, 53).

Among the causes of the Cynic's aversion to labor were, no doubt, indolence and a desire to avoid restraints. By indolence, also, he could display his apathy and indifference. Another reason was the desire to preserve his social status. If he engaged in trade or took up any form of manual labor he would lose caste. Epictetus says; "Is it not fitting that the Cynic should without any distraction be employed only on the ministration of God, able to go about among men, not tied down by the common duties of mankind, nor entangled in the ordinary relations of life? . . . How can he have time for this (teaching) who is tied to the duties of common life? . . . Consider what we are bringing the Cynic down to, how we are taking his royalty from him" (Arrian 3, 22, 69-76). The Cynic was fond of comparing him-

self with kings and emperors but never compared himself with shoe-makers, hucksters or barbers; he was not democratic but claimed to belong to the highest social class.

The πόνοι of the Cynics were hunger, cold, thirst, beatings, torture, exile and disrepute (Dio Chrysostom 8, 16 & 28). A great virtue for the Cynic was καρτερία, derived from a word meaning " strength " and perhaps originally having a similar meaning, but applied by the Cynics to the hardihood or ruggedness necessary to endure the Cynic life. The endurance of these hardships was a virtue; avoidance of them by foresight, industry and compliance with social conventions was μαλακία (softness or effeminacy), the vice which the Cynics denounced most frequently and vigorously.

The object of the Cynic was happiness and the most important condition for its attainment was ἐλευθερία (freedom). D. L. speaks of Diogenes as " allowing convention no such authority as he allowed to natural right, and asserting that the manner of life he lived was the same as that of Hercules when he preferred freedom to everything" (6, 71). The Cynic extended the meaning of freedom, a word which was generally applied to the distinction between a citizen and a slave, or to the right of a democracy to govern itself and to the sovereignty of states. They applied it to the freedom of temperate men from domination by appetites and desires, as is explained by Philo Alexandrinus: " We may fairly enough laugh at those men who, when once they have got released from the actual possession of an owner, think themselves free from that moment; for these men . . . are all slaves, obeying not indeed men (for that would not be so terrible), but even the most dishonored of inanimate things—strong wine, vegetables, cheese cakes and all the other things which the superfluous labors of bakers and confectioners invent, as enemies of the miserable belly. Accordingly Diogenes . . . said, ' It is just as if any one were to proclaim that one of his servants was, from this day forth, to be accounted a good grammarian, a geometrician or musician without his having the slightest idea of the art ' " (Quod omnis probus liber sit 21). Freedom in this sense was obtained through the extinction of desires.

It was sometimes applied to relinquishment of ownership and care of property. Diogenes is represented as writing to Crates; "I hear that when you left your country you brought all your property to the assembly and announced 'Crates, the son of Crates, sends Crates away a free man'" (9th Letter). The Cynic also regarded himself as free from the restraints of all human laws and customs. Maximus of Tyre says; "Who appears to you to be free? The politician? You say that he is a slave of many masters. The orator? You say that he is at the mercy of wrong decisions. The ruler? You say that he the slave of unbridled appetites. The general? You say that he is subject to reverses from unknown causes. The money-maker? A slave to the uncertainties of trade. The philosopher? What kind of philosophy? Indeed I praise Socrates, but I hear him saying, 'I obey the law. I go to prison voluntarily and take the poison voluntarily!' O Socrates, do you not see what you are saying? . . . Obeying the law,—what law? For if you mean the law of Zeus, I commend the law; but if you mean the law of Solon, in what was Solon better than Socrates? . . . Therefore I say that from this tyranny of circumstances the only liberation is that life which raised Diogenes above Lycurgus and Solon and Artaxerxes and Alexander and made him more free than Socrates" (Diss. 36, 6). Maximus Tyrius here appeals from the law of the state—the man made law—to the law of Zeus or natural law. Each Cynic interpreted the natural law for himself and was virtually a law unto himself. "Asked where he came from, he (Diogenes) said, 'I am a citizen of the world'" (D. L. 6, 63). "We should not give thanks to our parents—either because we were born, since creatures are generated by nature—nor on account of what we are, for this results from a combination of the elements. And there should be no gratitude for what comes by choice and purposes" (21st Letter of Diogenes). The law of nature, for the Cynics seems to have been a negation of existing laws rather than a separate code. The Cynics at Rome in the 1st century A. D. opposed the emperor as they had repudiated the governments of the city-states of Greece. This shows that their idea of cosmopolitanism was not

satisfied with the universal rule of Rome and that they were anarchists.

The Cynics avoided friendships because friends might restrict their freedom. Lucian represents a Cynic as saying to one proposing to become a Cynic; "With wife and children and country you will not concern yourself. . . . You will live alone in the midst (of the city), holding communion with none, admitting neither friend nor guest, for such would undermine your power" (Vitarum auctio 10). "They (Cynics) consider friends as insincere and faithless, consequently they trust no one" (Philodemus, On the Stoics).

In general the Cynic conception of freedom was freedom from restraint rather than the ability to act in accordance with the individual will, but it also included freedom of speech (παρρησία), which they regarded as their special privilege. "Being asked what was the most beautiful thing in the world, he (Diogenes) replied, 'Freedom of speech'" (D. L. 6, 69). The Cynics seemed to think that they had a special mission or privilege in rebuking rulers and public officials—an impression probably based on the tradition of the meeting of Alexander and Diogenes. "Therefore see what Diogenes himself says and writes, 'Diogenes, it is in your power to speak both with the king of the Persians and with Archidamus the king of the Lacedaemonians as you please'" (Epictetus 4, 1, 156).

This is illustrated by a story which Lucian tells of Demonax; "His remark to the proconsul was at once clever and cutting. This man was one of the sort that use pitch to remove hair from their legs and whole bodies. When a Cynic mounted a stone and charged him with this, accusing him of effeminacy, he was angry, had the fellow hauled down and was on the point of confining him in the stocks or even sentencing him to exile. But Demonax, who was passing by, begged him to pardon the man for making bold to speak his mind in the traditional Cynic way. The proconsul said, 'Well, I will let him off for you this time, but if he ever dares to do such a thing again, what shall be done to him?' 'Have him depilated,' said Demonax" (Demonax 50). The

Cynic claim of special privilege in this respect was not always respected at Rome, for Cassius Dio Cocceianus tells us that in the 1st century A. D. Cynics were sometimes exiled, sometimes flogged and even beheaded for reviling public officials (Historia Romanorum 66, 13-16).

The Cynic freedom of speech extended to the character of language used. Philodemus says, " It pleases these dreadful men to adopt the life of dogs, and they make open and unrestrained use of all kinds of words " (On the Stoics). Clement of Alexandria says that a tragedy attributed to Diogenes was expressed in foul language (Stromata 2, 20). Julian writes; " Now as for the tragedies ascribed to Diogenes, which are, and are admitted to be, the composition of some Cynic . . . what reader of these would not abhor them, and find in them an excess of infamy " (7, 210; cf. Apuleius, Apologia 9). " Melanthius, as it is said, being asked his opinion concerning a tragedy of Diogenes, made answer that the words intercepted his view of it " (Plutarch, Concerning Hearing).

Epictetus describes the ordinary conception of the Cynics of his time; " I will take a little bag and a staff and I will go about and begin to beg and to abuse those whom I meet; and if I see any man plucking the hair out of his body, I will rebuke him, or if he has dressed his hair, or if he walks about in purple. . . . Their (Cynics') characteristic is the little wallet and staff and great jaws, the devouring all that you give them or storing it up or the abusing unseasonably all whom they meet " (Arrian 3, 22, 10-50). Lucian says of the Cynics, " They spoil the wine with unwelcome and untimely disquisitions " (The Fisher). Seneca says; " One must not talk to a man unless he is willing to listen. That is why it is often doubted whether Diogenes and the other Cynics, who employed an undiscriminating freedom of speech, ought to have pursued such a plan " (Epist. Mor. 19, 1).

'Απάθεια (callousness or insensibility) was sometimes used to mean avoidance of pleasure and pain. " Apathy (ἀπάθεια) they (Cynics) regard as the end and aim " (Julian 6, 192). Teles in his discussion, περὶ ἀπάθειας, urges that we should not grieve

at the death of friends or children; he says, "A man is happy who is free from suffering and trouble" (Stobaeus, Flor. 4, 108, 83). Stobaeus also has, "Diogenes said, 'We say it is true happiness when the mind and the soul are peaceful and cheerful'" (Flor. 4, 103, 21). The 34th Letter of Crates, in describing the nonchalant demeanor of Diogenes when offered for sale by pirates, adds, "The purchasers who were standing about listened and admired him on account of his apathy." Diogenes is represented as writing, "I speak plainly as an interpreter of apathy, opposing the life of folly" (21st Letter).

Athenaeus says, addressing Cynics: "According to Clearchus the Solensian, you do not adopt a manly system of life, but you do really aim at a system which might become a dog; but although this animal has four excellent qualities, you select none but the worst of his qualities for your imitation. For the dog is a wonderful animal as to his power of smelling and distinguishing what belongs to his own family and what does not; and the way in which he associates with man, and the manner in which he watches over and protects the houses of all those who are kind to him, is extraordinary. But you, who imitate the dogs, do neither of these things. For you do not associate with men, nor do you distinguish between those with whom you are acquainted; and being very deficient in sensibility, you live in an indolent and indifferent manner. But the dog is also a snarling and greedy animal, and is also hard in his way of living and naked; these habits of his you practice, being abusive and gluttonous, and besides all this, living without a home or hearth" (Deip. 13, 33). The dog which the Cynic imitated was not the watch dog or the trained hunting dog but the ownerless vagrant.

Ἀδιάφορον (indifference) expressed the attitude of the Cynic toward all the circumstances of life. "It is not on account of our indifference to everything that they call our philosophy Cynic, but because we stand our ground firmly against things which are not endured by others through their weakness and regard for the opinion of others" (29th Letter of Crates). Teles quotes Crates as saying, "You do not know how great a power the wallet has--

a quart of lupines and to care for no one" (Stobaeus, Flor. 3, 97, 31; D. L. 6, 86). The Cynic was indifferent to obligations to his family, friends and state (21st Letter of Diogenes; 5th Letter of Crates; Lucian, Vitarum auctio 10; Maximus Tyrius, Diss. 36, 5; D. L. 6, 63). He ignored distinctions of race and nationality because he reduced his ties to other men to zero and consequently to equality.

The Cynic interpretation of indifference is illustrated by a story of Pyrrho; "He joined Anaxarchus, whom he accompanied on his travels everywhere. . . . And once when Anaxarchus fell into a slough, he passed by without giving him any help, and, while others blamed him, Anaxarchus himself praised his indifference" (D. L. 9, 61-63). The Cynic use of the word differed from that of the Stoics, who classed as indifferent only such things as are neither good nor evil, e. g. death, disease, pain, poverty and exile (Epictetus 1, 30; Ibid. 1, 20, 12; Seneca Ep. 82). This doctrine of things morally indifferent is said to have been introduced into Stoicism by Ariston (D. L. 7, 37).

"He (Diogenes) would praise those who were about to marry and refrained, those who intending to go on a voyage never set sail, those who thinking to engage in politics do no such thing, those also who proposing to rear a family do not do so and those who make ready to live with potentates, yet never come near them after all" (D. L. 6, 29). Teles quotes Crates as saying that a man should live contented with present things, not desiring what is not present and not discontented with chance happenings (Stobaeus, Flor. 3, 97, 31); and Teles says, "We should not try to change the things, but should prepare ourselves to meet and endure them" (Stobaeus, Flor. 1, 5, 67). The 7th Letter of Crates, addressed to "The Rich," says; "You navigate the sea, till the soil . . . exercise tyranny, commit murders and do many other things of this kind when you should be at rest." This preference of inaction to action and supine acceptance of present conditions without striving to better them appears Oriental rather than Western and more Indian than Greek.

The Cynic did not regard anything as inherently evil. A thing

became evil only when a man allowed himself to become enslaved by it. The Cynic's objections to pleasure were not based on moral grounds. But the pursuit of pleasure and the acquisition and ownership of property were regarded as indications that a man was not free. The Cynic demonstrated his freedom, apathy and indifference by his idleness (Dio Chrysostom 6, 30).

The word ἀδοξία ordinarily signified dishonor or disrepute but the Cynics gave it different meanings. They sometimes used it to express the absence or negation of φῑλοτιμία or φιλοδοξία (love of honor or reputation). "We are already free from riches but love of honor does not yet free us from slavery, although, by Hercules! we are doing everything to be released from it. I will free myself from this also" (8th Letter of Crates). Δόξα ordinarily meant opinion and the Cynics expressed disregard or contempt for the opinions of other men. "If you are good you do not grieve over evil things which are said. . . . For this is all opinion, to be a slave to good and ill reputation, and this is in shadows—as they say, in names, the most grievous of all. Try therefore to despise these things" (16th Letter of Crates). "You are not fighting against truth but against opinion. . . . It is fine to wage war against such things" (10th Letter of Diogenes).

Contempt of the opinions of others, like freedom of speech, was a manifestation of the Cynic idea of freedom. Since laws were made by men and might have been other than what they were, and since customs varied in different countries, the Cynics held that laws and customs had no validity. They did not consider that the mere fact that observances were required by law or custom gave them a moral validity. The Stoics did not follow the Cynics in this respect, for their standards of practical ethics were based on local laws and customs and they recognized obligations to the family and state. The Stoics practically returned to the position of Socrates, who taught obedience to law and compliance with local customs. "Socrates, in all exercises of devotion and piety, confined himself altogether to what he saw practiced by the republic, and to his friends he constantly advised the same thing, saying it only savored of vanity and superstition in all who did

otherwise" (Xenophon, Mem. Soc. 1, 3, 1). A Cynic scoffed at the customs of others but was strict in compliance with his own. He would not appear anywhere without his conventional wallet, staff and his cloak, which must invariably be ragged and worn. He wore his cloak so as to leave one shoulder bare and he never wore shoes. Horace says that the Cynic "will shun the cloak wrought at Miletus with greater aversion than dog or viper; he will die with cold unless you restore him his ragged garment" (Epistles 1, 17).

Sometimes ἀδοξία was used in a positive sense to mean disrepute or infamy,—such as might result from the perpetration of crimes or shocking public opinion. It was in this sense that ἀδοξία became one of the Cynic πόνοι (Dio Chrysostom 8, 16; Ibid. 9, 12). Diogenes is represented as urging a victor in the Olympic games to "Seek things which are really fine and learn to be strong, not by being beaten by men either with the cestus or with fists, but with the soul by means of poverty, disrepute (ἀδοξία), low birth or exile" (31st Letter of Diogenes). Crates declared "disrepute (ἀδοξίαν) and poverty to be his country" (D. L. 6, 93).

Ἀναίδεια (shamelessness) was an element of the Cynic tradition. Crates is represented as giving special training in this subject (D. L. 6, 94) and Epictetus mentions it as a characteristic of the Cynics of his time (Arrian 3, 22, 80). It was probably a means of demonstrating freedom and contempt of public opinion. Cicero says; "Neither are we to regard the Cynics or the Stoics, who are next to Cynics, who abuse and ridicule us for deeming things that are not shameful in their own nature to become vicious through names and expressions . . . a great many arguments to the same purpose are maintained by these philosophers in the subversion of delicacy" (De Officiis 1, 35). An illustration of this feature of Cynicism was the dog-wedding of Crates, which Clemens Alexandrinus says took place at the Stoa Poikile (Stromata 4, 19; cf. Apuleius, Florida 14). The extreme public indecencies attributed to Diogenes by Dio Chrysostom, Athenaeus, Julian and D. L. are not mentioned in connection with late Cynics, and this seems to indicate a change in their practices. The Cynics of the 1st century

B. C. as described by Philodemus were more shocking in their conduct than those of a later period. It seems probable that this feature of Cynicism was discouraged by occasional floggings and failures to collect contributions. Beatings are enumerated among the hardships incident to the life of the Cynic (Dio Chrysostom 8, 16, 28). Diogenes is represented as writing to another Cynic; "I hear that you are grieved because drunken Athenian youths strike us, . . . Know that the body of Diogenes has been beaten by drunken men, but virtue has not been shamed, since it is not its nature to be disgraced by them" (20th Letter of Diogenes; cf. D. L. 6, 33 & 41). Lucian represents a Cynic as saying; "Nor will you esteem it any inconvenience if a flogging or a turn of the rack should fall to your lot . . . Away with modesty, good nature and forbearance. Wipe the blush from your cheek forever. . . . Scruple not to perform the deeds of darkness in broad daylight; select your love adventures with a view to the public entertainment" (Vitarum auctio 10). Athenaeus says, "You (Cynics) are rogues from the whipping post and the rack, devourers of other men's goods" (Deip. 4, 164). The public indecencies of the Cynics seem to have been generally discontinued in the Christian era. St. Augustine mentions them as a part of the Cynic tradition, but expresses doubt of their actual occurrence (De Civitate Dei 14, 20).

Ἀγαμία ,celibacy) was a Cynic principle in spite of the tradition that Crates had a wife and children. "Being asked what was the right time to marry, Diogenes replied, 'For a young man not yet; for an old man never at all'" (D. L. 6, 54). The 47th Letter of Diogenes represents him as urging Zeno not to marry because marriage will bring him nothing but trouble; he adds, "Whoever trusts us will remain single; those who do not trust us will rear children. And if the race of men should cease to exist, there would be as much cause for regret as there would be if the flies and wasps should pass away." Maximus of Tyre says of Diogenes; "He did not marry, for he had heard of Xanthippe; he did not rear children, for he knew the troubles involved" (Diss. 3, 9). Lucian represents a Cynic as saying, "With wife and children and country

you will not concern yourself" (Vitarum auctio 10). "But, said the young man, shall marriage and the procreation of children as a chief duty be undertaken by the Cynic? If you grant me a community of wise men, Epictetus replies, perhaps no man will readily apply himself to the Cynic practice. . . . But in the present state of things which is like that of an army placed in battle order, is it not fit that the Cynic should without any distraction be employed only on the ministration of God, able to go about among men, not tied down to the common duties of mankind, nor entangled in the ordinary relations of life?" (Arrian 3, 22, 67-69).

Epictetus confirms the belief that the Cynics were celibates, but the reasons which he assigns for their celibacy differ widely from those given in the Letters and by Maximus Tyrius, and the discrepancy indicates that Epictetus took a highly idealized and unrealistic view of the functions of the Cynic. He admits that his ideal Cynic had no actual existence in his own time (Arrian 3, 22, 80). The Cynics advocated promiscuous sexual intercourse (D. L. 6, 72), which was inconsistent with marriage, and they regarded marriage as restricting freedom (Maximus Tyrius 36, 5).

'Αμαθία (ignorance) was a natural result of the Cynic indifference. "Diogenes, being asked who were the noblest men, said, 'Those despising wealth, learning, pleasure and life; esteeming above them poverty, ignorance, hardship and death'" (Stobaeus, Flor. 3, 86, 19; 3, 89, 4). "They (Cynics) also dispense with the ordinary subjects of instruction. At least Antisthenes used to say that those who had attained discretion had better not study reading and writing (γράμματα), lest they should be perverted by alien influences. So they get rid of geometry and music and all such studies" (D. L. 6, 103). "He (Diogenes) held that we should neglect music, geometry, astronomy and the like studies as useless and unnecessary" (D. L. 6, 73). The word "music" as used here probably includes in its meaning reading and writing, poetry and literature. This idea does not appear to belong to early Cynicism, for the earliest Cynics are represented as quoting and paraphrasing Homer and other poets. Crates is said to have been a man of considerable education (Stobaeus, Flor. 3, 95, 21).

Tatian calls the Cynics "philosophers who are no philosophers" (Address to the Greeks 3). "He (Diogenes) was great at pouring scorn on his contemporaries. The school of Euclides he called bilious and Plato's lectures a waste of time" (D. L. 6, 24). "It was against the sophists, who wanted to be looked up to and thought they knew more than other man, that he (Diogenes) railed in particular" (Dio Chrysostom 6, 21). "The most ignorant of the rhetoricians . . . all rush into Cynicism. They adopt the staff, the long hair, the ignorance that goes with these, the impudence, the insolence and everything of the sort" (Julian 7, 225). Dio Cassius says of the Cynics at Rome in the 1st century A. D.: "They are full of empty boasting, and if one of them grows a long beard and elevates his eyebrows, and throws his τριβώνιον over his shoulder and goes barefooted he claims straightway wisdom and courage and righteousness, and gives himself great airs, though he may not know his letters nor, as the saying goes, how to swim. They despise every one, and call the man of good family effeminate, the low-born poor-spirited, the handsome man a debauchee, the ugly person simple-minded, the rich covetous and the poor greedy" (65, 13,—translation of D. R. Dudley).

The Cynics rejected learning but professed to possess wisdom. A question arose as to the manner in which this wisdom was obtained. Dio Chrysostom said that the wise man is "noble by nature" and "does not have to learn" (4, 29-33). Julian said that Cynicism "demands no special study whatsoever" (6, 187). Plutarch attributes to the Stoics a theory that virtue and wisdom were obtained immediately and without preparation; "The wise man in a moment of time changes from the lowest possible depravity to an unsurpassable state of virtue. . . . The man who was the very worst in the morning becomes the very best at evening. . . . He who was a worthless dolt when he fell asleep awakes wise" (Progress in Virtue 75).

The majority of the Cynics were probably beggars who adopted the guise of the Cynic as a cloak for their beggary (Lucian, The Runaways). As a result of their general illiteracy very few writ-

ings came from them (Julian 6, 186), and this has caused their numbers, especially in the 2nd and 1st centuries B. C., to be underestimated and their influence underrated. The Letters of Diogenes and Crates are supposed to belong to the 2nd and 1st centuries B. C. and the point of view of the writers is that of a member of a numerous order. The mentions of the Cynics by Cicero and Philodemus, 1st century B. C., are consistent with the theory that they were numerous. Philo Alexandrinus, writing at the beginning of the Christian era, speaks of them as "an incalculable number of men" (Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit 21). Lucian says, "The city swarms with these vermin, particularly with those who profess the tenets of Diogenes, Antisthenes and Crates" (The Runaways 19). Eusebius Pamphili speaks of "Diogenes the Dog, who held the most brutish opinions and was the leader of many" (Praep. Evang. 15, 13, 6).

Ἐφήμερον signified improvidence or living in the present. Gregory Nazianzen says: "Come, O philosopher and wise man. . . . Come Dog, not with shamelessness but with freedom of speech, not with gluttony but with living-from-day-to-day (ἐφήμερον); not barking but guarding what is good" (Oratio 25, 2). Hieronymus says: "Satyrus, the biographer of illustrious men, relates that Diogenes, to guard himself against the cold, folded his cloak double; his scrip was his pantry; and, aged, he carried a stick to support his feeble frame, and he was commonly called ἡμερόβιος (living from day to day), because in that very hour he begged and received food from any one" (Adversus Jovianum 2, 14). "All the curses of tragedy, he (Diogenes) used to say had lighted upon him. At all events he was 'cityless, homeless, driven from his native land, a beggar, a wanderer, living from day to day'" (D. L. 6, 38; Gnom. Vaticanum 201).

"You ask me to write you what I know about death and burial, as you cannot become a complete philosopher unless you learn from us what comes after life. I hold that it is sufficient to live according to virtue and nature and this is in our power. As the things before birth are witheld by nature, so the things after death must be trusted to it" (25th Letter of Diogenes). It will

be noted that this Letter is agnostic in tone. It seems probable that the Cynics were generally agnostics. Julian says that Diogenes did not visit temples or worship statues or altars (6, 199). D. L. implies that he used temples only as dormitories (6, 22) and Dio Chrysostom expresses the same idea (4, 13). "Proofs are not wanting that among the philosophers there was not only ignorance, but actual doubt, about the divinity. Diogenes, when asked what was taking place, in heaven, answered, 'I have never been up there.' Again, asked whether there were any gods, he replied, 'I do not know, only there ought to be gods'" (Tertullian, Ad Nationes 2). "Diogenes the Cynic used to say of Harpalus, one of the most fortunate villians of his time, that the constant prosperity of such a man was a kind of witness against the gods" (Cicero, De Natura, Decorum 3, 34).

Self sufficiency (αὐτάρκεια) is sometimes attributed to the Cynics, but with little reason. The word is rarely used in writings relating to them. In Bion's treatise περὶ αὐτάρκειας (Stobaeus, Flor. 1, 5, 67), he takes Socrates as his exemplar of this quality and mentions the Socratic virtues—temperance, justice and courage. Von Fritz says, "Bion never was really a Cynic" (Quellen-untersauchungen p. 45). The idea of wanting little or wanting nothing is connected with them. "Diogenes used to say that it was the privilege of the gods to need nothing and of god-like men to want but little" (D. L. 6, 104). "Train yourselves to want little, for this is nearest to God, the opposite is furthest" (11th Letter of Crates). "This man (Diogenes) used to maintain how much he surpassed the Persian king in his manner of life and fortune; for he himself was in want of nothing, while the other never had enough" (Cicero, Tusc. Disp. 5, 32). This idea seems to have been borrowed from Xenophon, who attributes it to Socrates (Mem. Soc. 1, 6, 10). It had little applicability to men who claimed the privilege of having their physical wants supplied by others, as their critics did not fail to note. "Though they (Cynics) say that they want nothing, yet . . . they need a currier for their wallet, a weaver for their mantle, a woodcutter for their staff and the rich (from whom to beg) and a cook also for their gluttony" (Tatian, Address to the

Greeks 25). Lucian says; "What is so monstrous is that every man of them says he has no needs, proclaims that wisdom is the only wealth, and directly afterward comes begging and makes a fuss if he is refused" (The Fisher).

Πενία (poverty) was spoken of by the Cynics sometimes as a hardship, sometimes as an indispensable condition both to virtue and happiness. "If poverty is not with you as a foundation, neither will virtue be, and poverty will drive away worse evils" (36th Letter of Diogenes). "Diogenes said that self-taught poverty was a help toward philosophy, for the things which philosophy attempts to teach by reasoning, poverty forces us to practice" (Stobaeus, Flor. 3, 95, 11). "Diogenes said that virtue could not dwell with wealth either in a city or in a house" (Stobaeus, Flor. 3, 93, 35). "Remember that I teach you the principle of poverty with my life" (26th Letter of Diogenes). These passages relating to poverty assist us in gaining an idea of what the Cynics meant by virtue. They claimed to possess the virtues,—ἐγκράτεια (self-control), εὐτέλια (frugality) and ἀφέλεια (simplicity),—but they virtually denied the existence of these virtues by asserting that these qualities were not attainable except under the compulsion of poverty. Those who regard ethics as based on social relations will find little in Cynic teaching corresponding to their ideas of ethics, for the Cynics were asocial and their virtues were individualistic. The Cynics had no organization and no cohesion, probably because their occupation as beggars brought them into rivalry with one another. Hippobotus listed nine Greek schools of ethics but did not include the Cynics among them (D. L. 1, 19).

Poverty was regarded as a condition of happiness. "How is it possible that a man who has nothing, who is naked, houseless, without a hearth, squalid, without a slave, without a city, can pass a life that flows easily? See, God has sent you a man (Diogenes) to show you that it is possible. 'Look at me, who am without a city, without a house, without possessions, without a slave; I sleep on the ground; I have no wife, no children, no pretorium, but only the earth and the heavens and one poor cloak. And what do I

want? Am I not without sorrow? Am I not without fear? Am I not free? (Epictetus 3, 22, 45-48).

The Cynics regarded the love of money as the root of all evil (cf. 1 Timothy 6, 10). "The desire for money is the cause of all evil" (50th Letter of Diogenes). "The love of money he (Diogenes) declared to be the mother city of all evils" (D. L. 6, 50). Lucian represents a Cynic as saying, "Have you money? Take my advice and throw it into the sea" (Vitarum auctio 10). Seneca says; "It is not to be endured that a man who despises money should ask for it. Your Cynic has publicly proclaimed his hatred of money, and assumed the character of one who despises it; let him act up to his professions. It is most inconsistent for him to earn money by glorifying his poverty" (De Beneficiis 2, 17).

Cannibalism (ἀνθρωποφαγία) is alleged to have been a practice of the Cynics by Philodemus and by Theophilus Antiochenus; but, if so, it must have been confined to their early history, for they had a number of critics during the Christian era who would have mentioned it if they had known of it. Both Philodemus and Theophilus were biassed and we must remember that similar stories were told of the early Christians. However, cannibalism is said to have been authorized by the Republic and Thyestes (or Atreus) attributed to Diogenes and also by the Republic of Zeno and by Cleanthes and Chrysippus (Philodemus, On the Stoics; Theophilus Antiochenus, Ad. Autolycum 3, 5; D. L. 6, 73; Ibid. 7, 188; cf. 28th Letter of Diogenes; Dio Chrysostom 8, 14).

Promiscuous sexual intercourse (including incest) and the community of women and children were also connected with early Cynic and Stoic traditions (D. L. 6, 72; Ibid. 7, 131 & 188; Dio Chrysostom 10, 29-30). Julian says; "Are we to think it (Cynicism) a sort of madness, a method of life not suitable for a human being, but rather a brutish attitude of mind which recks naught of the beautiful, the honorable or the good? For Oenomaus would make many people hold this view of it" (7, 209). Since Oenomaus was himself a Cynic, it is probable that he was better informed than Julian in regard to Cynic traditions. Julian idealized Cynicism apart from the Cynics of his time. Of these Cynics

he says; " Many disciples of Diogenes . . . have become rapacious and depraved and no better than any one of the brute beasts. . . . If here and there among the Cynics one is really virtuous he is regarded with pity " (6, 197-198).

Epictetus, like Julian, idealized a Cynic whom he conceived of as living in the distant past, but who probably never had any actual existence; he says, " The present Cynics are dogs that wait at tables and in no respect imitate the Cynics of old except perchance in breaking wind but in nothing else " (Arrian 3, 22, 80). It is worthy of note that some of the severest criticisms of the Cynics come from men who cannot be regarded as their enemies—Seneca, Epictetus and Julian. Neither Epictetus nor Julian seem to have realized that the Cynics whom they condemned were the logical products of Cynic teaching. Their own standards of conduct were Socratic; the Cynics whom they criticised may have possessed the Cynic virtues—poverty, endurance, apathy and indifference.

The Stoic sect was a branch of the Cynic, and we learn from Philodemus (On the Stoics) that this connection was a source of embarrassment to the Stoics. The Stoics became apologists for the Cynics and strove to present Diogenes in a favorable light. They were in a favorable position to do this because Stoicism was the dominant philosophy at Rome for many years, especially in the times of Seneca and Marcus Aurelius. This apologetic note has been echoed by many modern writers, notably Walter Savage Landor (Imaginary Conversations, Diogenes and Plato).

Cynicism as a philosophy was a mind cure. The Cynic sought peace of mind by throwing off his cares and worries, and with them he discarded his duties, obligations, responsibilities and moral inhibitions. As a form of life, Cynicism was a gainful occupation, resembling that of the vendors of patent medicines who hawk cure-alls at country fairs. That this occupation was sometimes lucrative is shown by the story of Menippus (D. L. 6, 99). " O men competing with the dog, you know not God and so have turned to the imitation of an irrational animal. You cry out in public with an assumption of authority, and take upon you to avenge your own self; and if you receive nothing, you indulge

in abuse, and philosophy is with you the art of getting money" (Tatian, Address to the Greeks 25). The Cynic differed from the modern hobo in having a vocation; but, like the hobo, was sometimes a robber, sometimes a thief, sometimes a beggar and had no inhibitions except against useful labor (Julian 7, 209-210; Lucian, The Fisher and The Runadays; Athenaeus, Deip. 13, 93).

Some Cynic ideas found their way into Greek literature and some sympathetic essays were written, perhaps as literary exercises, by men who were not Cynics, e. g., the Cynicus of Lucian and the 36th Dissertation of Maximus Tyrius. But Lucian's attitude toward Cynics and Cynicism is expressed in his Peregrinus, Sale of Creeds, Fisher and Runaways; and Maximus Tyrius was a Platonist who expressed in other writings views contrary to those which appear in his 36th Dissertation.

Some modern writers have followed the lead of Epictetus and Julian in regarding the non-existent ideal Cynic as the only true Cynic and Cynicism as a modification of the teachings of Socrates. The thousands of men who called themselves Cynics and were everywhere regarded as such are called "charlatans" and "imposters" (cf. D. R. Dudley, A History of Cynicism). Some men of exalted character are classed by them as Cynics, e. g., Cercidas, Demonax and Dio Chrysostom. But Cercidas was probably a Pythagorean and Demonax is said by Lucian to have been a follower of Socrates and to have discriminated between himself and the Cynics. Demonax entered political life at Athens and became an office-holder. When a Cynic said to him, "You do not play the part of a Cynic," he replied, "You do not play the part of a human being" (Lucian, Demonax 21). Dio Chrysostom never classed himself as a Cynic or even as a philosopher (13, 11); of the Cynics he says, "They do no good, but the greatest possible evil" (32, 10). The meaning here is that the Cynics by calling themselves philosophers had brought philosophy into disrepute, a complaint against them which is voiced also by Lucian in The Runaways. Dio says also; "No philosopher is unjust or base . . . but these men (Cynics) who do harm to their country and combine against the free citizens seem to me to be somewhere distant

from this title (philosopher) " (34, 3). However, the men who were the actual exponents of Cynicism were numerous in Greece and Asia Minor and their influence was important. They attacked and ridiculed religion, philosophy, art, science, literature, love, friendship, good manners, loyalty to parents and the state and even athletics—everything which tended to embellish and enrich life or to give it significance and make it worth living. They did much to prepare the way for Christianity by destroying respect for existing religions, by ignoring distinctions of race and nationality, and by instituting an order of wandering preachers who claimed exceptional freedom in expressing their views.

THE SOURCES OF CYNICISM

Julian says of Cynicism; " Now the founder of this philosophy to whom we are to attribute it in the first instance is not easy to discover, even though some think the title belongs to Antisthenes and Diogenes. At least the saying of Oenomaus seems to be not without good grounds, ' The Cynic philosophy is neither Antisthenean nor Diogenean ' " (6th Or. 187). The Cynics frequently declared themselves to be imitators of Hercules (26th Letter of Diogenes; Lucian, Vitarum auctio 10; Peregrinus; D. L. 6, 71; Julian 6, 187). In the 7th Letter of Diogenes he is represented as speaking of Ulysses as his model; in the 34th Letter he is represented as saying that he learned first from " Gods and heroes and from those who turned Greece toward wisdom, from Homer and the tragedy writers " and that he took Ulysses and Telephus as models (cf. D. L. 6, 87); in the 37th Letter the " heroes of the Iliad " are Diogenes' models. In the 19th Letter of Crates, Ulysses is said to be regarded as " the father of the Cynic."

The immediate predecessors of the Cynics were the mendicant itinerant Orphic teachers (Plato, Republic 2, 364); as the influence of Orphism waned the teachers who promised a happy future life were replaced by philosophers who taught a way to happiness in the present life. There were also the mendicant priests of Cybele, who are spoken of in the 11th Letter of Diogenes as rivals of the Cynics.

Some of the ideas of the Cynics had appeared in Greek literature before the time of Antisthenes and Diogenes. Lucian says that Demonax called Thersites " a mob-orator of the Cynic type " (Demonax 61), implying that the Cynic type was known in the time of Homer. The Cynic indifference as to the disposition of the body after death had been expressed by Heraclitus (Frag. 85, Burnet, Early Gr. Phil. p. 139). The Cynic attitude toward athletic contests and toward the Greek mythology had been taken by Xenophanes (Burnet, E. Gr. Phil. p. 117 f.), and Hesiod had praised a simple and primitive form of life. Anti-intellectualism

was common in Athens and is depicted in Anytus in the Meno of Plato and in Strepsiades in the Clouds of Aristophanes.

Julian says that Cynicism " seems in some ways a universal philosophy and the most natural " (6, 187) and there appears to be an allusion to a natural philosophy by Aristophanes:

" *Strepsiades.* But the law nowhere admits that fathers should be treated thus (beaten).

" *Phidippides.* Was not the legislator who carried this law a man like you and me? . . . Then why should I not have the right to establish for the future a new law, allowing children to beat their fathers? . . . But look how the cocks and other animals fight with their fathers; and yet what difference is there betwixt them and ourselves, unless it be that they do not propose decrees?

" *Strepsiades.* But if you imitate the cocks in all things, why don't you scratch up the dunghill, why don't you sleep on a perch? " (Clouds 1420).

Aristophanes is satirizing here the various philosophies taught in Athens and, though he connects them with Socrates, this is done only to preserve dramatic unity. The Clouds appeared in 423 B. C., and we find in it arguments which were used by the Cynics,—the appeal from man-made law to a natural law and a reference to the habits of animals as a guide for human conduct.

Plato represents Hippias as saying; " All of you who are here present I reckon to be kinsmen and friends and fellow-citizens, by nature and not by law; for by nature like is akin to like, whereas law is the tyrant of mankind, and often compels us to do many things which are against nature " (Protagoras 337). Here again is an appeal to nature and an expression of revolt against man-made law, but it is to be noted that Plato does not represent Socrates as being in sympathy with these views.

We learn from Isocrates, a contemporary of Plato, that there were sophists in Athens whose teaching resembled that of those who were afterwards called Cynics. " The teachers who do not scruple to vaunt their powers with utter disregard of the truth have created the impression that those who choose a life of careless indolence are better advised than those who devote themselves

to serious study. . . . Although they say that they do not want money and speak contemptuously of wealth as ' filthy lucre,' they hold their hands out for a trifling gain and make their disciples all but immortal " (Against the Sophists 1-4). This treatise of Isocrates is believed to have been written about 390 B. C., probably before Diogenes came to Athens.

Xenophon describes Socrates as taking Aristippus to task on account of his habits and Aristippus as replying: " I do not for a moment put myself in the category of those who want to be rulers. For, considering how hard a matter it is to provide for one's own needs, I think it absurd not to be content to do that, but to shoulder the burden of supplying the wants of the community as well . . . myself I classify with those who wish for a life of the greatest ease and pleasure that can be had. . . . I am no candidate for slavery; but there is, as I hold, a middle path in which I am fain to walk. That way leads neither through rule nor slavery, but through freedom, which is the best road to happiness. . . . I do not shut myself up in the four corners of a community, but am a stranger in every land " (Mem. Soc. 2, 1, 8-13). Aristippus here advocates idleness, irresponsibility, indifference to the welfare of others and cosmopolitanism and he regards freedom as the best road to happiness—all of which were Cynic traits. Aristippus was from Cyrene, a city of Libya in Africa, and the following indicates that he was an exile: " Aristippus being reviled by some one because, being a Cyrenean, he had been banished from his country, said, ' Young man, my country gave me great pleasure when they sent me from Libya to Hellas ' " (Gnomologium Vaticanum 28). If this was true he had no citizenship in any country; at any rate he was an alien and it is noticeable that nearly all the early Cynics were aliens. It is not likely that Athenians held their citizenship so lightly. Xenophon represents Socrates as explaining to Aristippus the value of citizenship and as urging the necessity of industry and useful labor and the benefits to be derived from them. Elsewhere Xenophon represents Socrates as recommending useful and remunerative labor for free Athenian citizens (Mem. Soc. 2, 7-8). Socrates regarded the state as the important unit and in-

dividuals as existing for the benefit of the state; he condemned the kind of freedom which the Cynics desired (Plato, Republic, 7, 519 f.; Ibid. 8, 561-563).

Many stories which were told of Aristippus were transferred to Diogenes (A. Packmohr, De Diogenis Sinopensis apophthegmatis quaestiones selectae); this indicates a connection between Aristippus and the Cynics. It would appear that the Stoics might have selected Aristippus instead of Antisthenes as the link connecting them with Socrates but for his stay at the court of Dionysius II in Sicily; his association with a tyrant made him ineligible as a Cynic leader. We do not know how long he associated with Socrates and he was not with Socrates at his death, though Plato mentions him as one who might have been expected to be there (Phaedo 59). Since his conduct and his ideas were disapproved of by Socrates (Xen. Mem. Soc. 2, 1), and since he failed to conform to the Socratic practice by taking fees for his teaching (D, L. 2, 65), we cannot regard him as a representative Socratic. Aristotle calls him a sophist and says that he scorned mathematics (Metaphysics 3, 2, 996a33); he does not speak in this way of any other associate of Socrates.

Socrates continues his conversation with Aristippus by relating a story which he had received from Prodicus. In this story a personified Virtue appeals to the ambition of the youthful Hercules and incites him to a life of temperance, self-training and labor as a means of gaining worldly success. She says in part; "Of all things good and fair the gods give nothing to man without toil and effort. If you want the favor of the gods, you must worship the gods; if you desire the love of friends, you must do good to your friends; if you covet honor from a city, you must aid that city; if you are fain to win the admiration of all Hellas for virtue, you must strive to do good to Hellas; if you want land to yield you fruits in abundance, you must cultivate that land; if you are resolved to get wealth from flocks, you must care for those flocks; if you essay to grow great through war and want power to liberate your friends and subdue your foes, you must learn the arts of war from those who know them and must practice their right use; and

if you want your body to be strong, you must accustom your body to be the servant of your mind, and train it with toil and sweat." Her rival, a personified Vice, says; " Heracles, mark you how hard and long is that road to joy, of which this woman tells? But I will lead you by a short and easy road to happiness. . . . Make me your friend; follow me, and I will lead you along the pleasantest and easiest road. . . . Of wars and worries you shall not think . . . but how to come by pleasures with least trouble. . . . You shall have the fruits of others' toil and refrain from nothing that can bring you gain " (Xen. Mem. Soc. 2, 1, 21-29).

The idea of two roads and a parting of the ways was not new in Greek literature; it appears in the poems of Parmenides in which he contrasts the Way of Truth and the Way of Belief.* The story of Prodicus appears to find an echo in the 30th Letter of Diogenes, in which he says: " I am at Athens, dear father, and, having heard that the companion of Socrates was teaching happiness, I betook myself to him. He chanced at the time to be lecturing about the paths leading thither. They are two, he was saying, and not many, the one short, the other long; and it lies with each man to choose for himself by which of them he will go. I listened and said nothing; but on the following day I returned to his house, and besought him to expound to us the nature of these two paths. He was quite ready, and, leaving his seat, took us into the city, and through the city straight to the Acropolis. And when we had come to its foot, he showed us that there were two paths up to the height, one short and steep and difficult, the other long and gentle and easy. And, ' these,' he said, ' are the ways leading to the Acropolis, and the ways to happiness are like them. Each of you may choose which he will, and I will be your guide.' At this the others shrank back in alarm from the difficulty and steepness of the shorter path, and begged him to conduct them by the longer and gentler; only I, feeling my superiority to hardship, preferred the steep and difficult road, for the desire of happiness was urgent upon me though it should carry me through fire and swords. And then, when I had chosen this path, he divested me of my robe and

* Cf. Plato, Republic 2, 365 A-B.

tunic, and threw about me a folded cloak, and hung a knapsack upon my shoulder, first putting in it bread and a bit of coarse cake and a cup and plate, and attaching to it outside an oil-flask and a strigil. He gave me also a staff; and so he fitted me out.

" And I asked him why the cloak he had thrown over me was doubled. ' In order that I may train you for both states,' he replied, ' for the heat of summer and the cold of winter.' ' But why,' I asked, ' would not a single cloak suffice for that?' ' No,' answered he; ' that would be a comfort in summer, but in winter too great an infliction for human endurance.' ' And the knapsack, why have you hung that upon me?' ' That you may carry your home about with you,' he said, ' wherever you go.' ' And the cup and plate, why did you put them in it?' ' Because,' said he, ' you must drink, and you must have something to go with your bread, nasturtium seed or the like.' ' And the oil-flask and strigil, why did you attach these?' ' One,' said he, ' is for your labors, the other for cleanliness.' ' And why the staff?' I asked. ' For security,' said he. ' Against what?' ' Against that for which the gods used it, against the poets' " (Translation of P. E. Moore).

The unnamed " companion of Socrates " who " was teaching happiness " may be Aristippus; if Antisthenes is intended, this story is inconsistent if not incompatible with other stories of the meeting of Antisthenes and Diogenes (D. L. 6, 21; Hieronymus, Adv. Jovianum 2, 14; Aelian V. H. 10, 16) and also with the story of Antisthenes teaching at the Cynosarges gymnasium (D. L. 6, 13). Apparently the author of the 30th Letter had no knowledge of these stories. It is probable that the " companion of Socrates " was intended for Antisthenes, for the story of Diogenes being a pupil of Antisthenes was coming into circulation at the probable date of the production of these Letters. Since from the point of view of the writers of the Letters the object of the Cynic life was happiness, the adoption of Antisthenes as a Cynic teacher involved making him a teacher of happiness. The 30th Letter represents the short road selected by Diogenes as difficult, but Cynicism is described elsewhere as the easiest way of life. When Diogenes selects the short road he is seeking happiness only; he

does not concern himself with virtue, worldly success or usefulness to others, and the road selected corresponds with that which Prodicus and Socrates connected with Vice. The emphasis placed upon the wallet, staff and cloak indicates that the external equipment of the Cynic constituted his most important qualification.

The question of the origin of the Cynic dress and equipment was investigated in antiquity, for we find; " And he (Antisthenes) was the first, Diocles tells us, to double his cloak and to be content with that one garment and to take up a staff and wallet. . . . Sosicrates, however, in the third book of his ' Successions of Philosophers ' says this was first done by Diodorus of Aspendus, who also let his beard grow and used a staff and a wallet " (D. L. 6, 13). Diocles belonged to the 1st century B. C.; we cannot attach much weight to his statement about Antisthenes without knowing the source from which he derived his information. It is contradicted in D. L. 6, 22. The quotations from him by D. L. seem to indicate that he was an apologist for Diogenes and a builder of the Antisthenes-Diogenes-Crates succession. Sosicrates of Rhodes lived in the 2d century B. C. Athenaeus says; " Diodorus was an Aspendian by birth, and though he was reputed to be a Pythagorean, he lived in the manner of you Cynics, wearing his hair long and going dirty and barefooted. Hence some have even thought that this habit of wearing hair was Pythagorean and was promulgated by Diodorus, as Hermippus says. And Timaeus of Tauromenium, in the ninth book of his Histories, writes about him thus, ' Diodorus, the Aspendian by birth, introduced the eccentric mode of life ' " (Deip. 4, 164). Hermippus of Smyrna was a Peripatetic who wrote at Alexandria about the middle of the 3rd century B. C. Timaeus of Tauromenium flourished about 260 B. C.

In view of this array of evidence it seems impossible to avoid the inference that the Cynics were influenced by the example of Diodorus, at least in their externals, though this influence is ignored by the conventional Stoic tradition. This raises a question as to what extent the Cynics painted their reputed ancestors, Antisthenes and Diogenes, in their own images. The Pythagoreans were ascetics and they had negative virtues. Pythagoras was a

saint and Diodorus may have attained sainthood through abstinence from beans, flesh and other sources of contamination. The ideas of negative virtue, of real or pretended asceticism and of sainthood may have come to the Cynics from Pythagoreans, for Diogenes subsequently attained a sainthood comparable with that of Pythagoras. The Pythagoreans were Orphics, or at least had a religion similar to that which in Greece was called Orphic, and there may have been a connection between them and the mendicant Orphic teachers mentioned by Plato (Rep. 2, 364), who seem to have been forerunners of the Cynics.

The wallet, cloak and staff of the Cynics were simply the equipment of the vagabond beggar of their period. It appears that the externals of beggars had not changed greatly since the time of Homer, for the Cynics recognized the description of the disguise of Ulysses on his return to Ithaca (Od. 13, 430) as resembling them. Diogenes is represented as writing to his father (7th Letter), pointing out that Ulysses' equipment was given him by Athena, and saying, " Take courage then, O father, with respect to the name by which they call us, and with respect to the cloak, since the dog comes from the gods and the cloak is the invention of the gods." This resemblance to Ulysses seems to have led some Cynics to claim him as the founder of their sect (34th Letter of Diogenes; 19th Letter of Crates).

Early accounts of the Cynics represent them as wearing doubled cloaks but not distinctive cloaks. Antisthenes is alleged to have been the first to double his cloak (D. L. 6, 13) and a similar statement is made of Diogenes (D. L. 6, 22). However, in the 19th Letter of Crates it is asserted that Diogenes " never put on the Cynic cloak," and Teles, as quoted by Stobaeus, seems to regard Crates as the originator of this practice; " On account of the cold we seek a thicker cloak, but Crates doubled his cloak and went about as though having two cloaks (ἱμάτια) (Flor. 3, 97, 31). Tertullian says of the Cynic cloak, " There is no garment which can be put on more quickly, even if it be double, like that of Crates " (De Pallio 5).

In the 30th Letter of Diogenes the cloak is said to be doubled

to provide greater warmth in winter. Aristophanes puts in the mouth of Strepsiades, when the chorus appears on the stage as clouds, " Not yet! Wait a bit, till I fold my mantle double, so as not to get wet " (Clouds). This indicates that the cloak was doubled to give added protection against rain as well as against cold. Strepsiades represents the typical Athenian citizen, and no doubt is supposed to be wearing the customary ἱμάτιον, with probably a linen χιτὼν (shirt) under it. The Cynics wore no undergarment.

Crates and his immediate followers probably wore the ἱμάτιον doubled but there seems to have been a shift to a distinctive cloak in the following century. In the Letters of Diogenes and Crates the Cynic cloak is sometimes called τρίβων and sometimes στολή (Latin, pallium). The word τρίβων means primarily rubbed or worn, but it seems to have acquired a special meaning. " The Spartans wore a short mantle of coarse texture called τρίβων or τριβώνιον. Those who aped Spartan customs, the Λακωνίζοντες and the philosophers of the Cynic and Stoic schools naturally adopted it also " (Becker, Charicles, p. 419; cf. Thucydides 1, 6; Plato, Protagoras 342). It was a square of coarsely woven wool, and it is so generally described as threadbare, ragged and dirty that we are led to suppose that when a Cynic had occasion to procure a cloak he selected one which was already in that condition.

The essay of Tertullian " On the Philosopher's Cloak " shows that he regarded the cloak as the distinctive feature of the Cynic ensemble, but the remark attributed to Crates, " You do not know how great a power the wallet has—a quart of lupines and to care for no one " (Stobaeus, Flor. 3, 97, 31; D. L. 6, 86), seems to indicate that he regarded the wallet as the most important part of his equipment. The following passage from Petronius treats the wallet as the distinguishing characteristic of the Cynic; " Of what avail are laws where money rules alone, and the poor suitor can never succeed? The very men who mock at the time by carrying the Cynic's scrip have sometimes been known to betray the truth for a price " (Satyricon 14).

The idea that poverty and plain living were commendable did

not belong exclusively to the Cynics. The popularity of Aristides the Just was to a considerable extent based on the belief that he was poor and lived plainly, and it is plain that Xenophon regards this as a strong point in his defense of Socrates (Mem. Soc. 1, 6). In Rome also Cincinnatus and Cato were admired for their ancient virtue before the advent of Cynicism.

There were elements of Cynic teaching for which no Greek antecedents are found and which may have had an Eastern origin. Among these were apathy, indifference, seeking happiness through extinction of desire and the idea of a caste or class of professional wise men who were celibates and were entitled to support by the public.

The story of the tripod and the Seven Wise Men (D. L. 1, 28-33) shows that it was contrary to Greek tradition for any one to claim to be wise. Pythagoras is credited with saying, "No man is wise but God alone" (D. L. 1, 12) and Socrates disclaimed being wise; "In this respect only I believe myself to differ from men in general, and may perhaps claim to be wiser than they are: that whereas I know but little of the world below, I do not suppose that I know" (Plato, Apology 29). Plato also represents Socrates as saying of other teachers; "Wise I may not call them, for that is a great name which belongs to God alone,—lovers of wisdom or philosophers is their modest and befitting title" (Phaedrus 278). The Stoics discussed an ideal wise man, but Cicero says that no Stoic claimed to be wise (De Oratore 3, 18); it was probably for this reason that Epictetus turned to Diogenes, the typical Cynic, for an exemplar of his ideal wise man.

The Greeks were familiar with paid teachers who performed specific services and received stipulated compensation but, apart from the Cynics, they had no class of men who were regarded as "wise" without reference to learning or accomplishments and who expected to be supported without regard to their services. Socrates approached this idea when he suggested his maintenance at the Prytaneum (Plato, Apology 36), but he evidently did not expect his suggestion to be taken seriously. Diogenes, however, professed to be a wise man; he insisted upon recognition of his

status as such, performed no labor and claimed maintenance as a right. " Being short of money, he (Diogenes) told his friends that he applied to them not for alms, but for repayment of his due " (D. L. 6, 46). " He (Diogenes) used also to reason thus; ' All things belong to the gods. The wise are friends of the gods, and friends hold things in common. Therefore all things belong to the wise ' " (D. L. 6, 37; cf. D. L. 6, 71; 10th Letter of Diogenes; 26th and 27th Letters of Crates). This " wisdom " which entitled its possessor to claim anything he wished was not connected with or dependent upon learning or accomplishments, and it does not appear that Diogenes recognized any one as " wise " except himself.

Diogenes was from Sinope, an ancient Milesian colony on the Euxine Sea. This city was the most prosperous of the numerous colonies established from Miletus; it was a terminus of a great caravan route from Babylon and was also a distributing point of an ancient trade route from India. " Aristobulus says that the Oxus is the greatest of the rivers of Asia, excepting those of India. He says it is navigable (both he and Eratosthenes take this from Patrocles), and that much Indian merchandise is carried upon it to the Caspian Sea; thence it is transported to Albania and by the Cyrus River and places beyond to the Euxine Sea " (Strabo 2, 7, 3). Strabo commends Patrocles as especially worthy of confidence (2, 1, 2); Aristobulus was a companion of Alexander in his invasion of India; Eratosthenes was in charge of the Alexandrian Library in the 3rd century B. C. and was a great mathematician, astronomer and geographer.

Pliny says that the Euxine Sea served as a route for commerce between India and Greece. Quoting from Varro, he says that Pompey, when prosecuting the war against Mithridates, discovered this ancient trade route. The goods, he says, were brought from India to the Icarus, a river of Bactriana, which flows into the Oxus, and were conveyed down this to the Caspian Sea, across which they were carried to the mouth of the River Cyrus, and up this river to a place which was five days journey by land to the Phasis, down which they were carried to the Euxine Sea, and upon it they

were sent to the Greek cities (Naturalis Historiae 6, 17, 19). Information of this traffic has also been obtained from ancient Indian writings (E. J. Rapson, Cambridge History of India, 1922, Vol. 1, pp. 212-213; cf. Ancient Sinope, David M. Robinson, p. 137 f.).

It is probable that Indian merchants accompanied their goods as far west as Sinope. Merchants and travelers from Babylon and India no doubt required the services of a money-changer and this is said to have been the occupation of the father of Diogenes (D. L. 6, 20). It is likely that Diogenes had at Sinope an opportunity to gain a considerable amount of information of the customs and ideas of the Indian people. But the Greeks of his time were not ignorant of India. Aeschylus had mentioned the people of India in the Suppliants (284-286) and Herodotus had described India at considerable length (3, 38-94-98; 7, 65-86). Apuleius recites a tradition that Pythagoras visited India and "obtained from the Brahmins the greater part of his philosophy" (Florida 15). D. L. says of Democritus, a contemporary of Socrates, "Some say that he associated with the Gymnosophists of India" (9, 35) and Aelian says, "Democritus went to the Chaldaeans in Babylon and to the Magi and to the sophists of the Indians" (Var. Hist. 4, 20). The Greek god Dionysus (Bacchus) was said to have visited India or to have come from India; he has been identified by some scholars as the Hindu god Shiva. Pyrrho, a contemporary of Diogenes, is said to have traveled with Anaxarchus in India and to have obtained from Indian philosophers the ideas of agnosticism and suspension of judgment; he is said also to have taught indifference (D. L. 9, 61-63), an important Cynic principle. The ideas with which Pyrrho is associated—agnosticism, suspension of judgment, indifference, scepticism, repudiation of customary moral standards and non-intellectualism—are all connected with the Cynics. That the ideas credited to Pyrrho are traceable to Hindu sources has been shown by Brochard (Les Sceptiques Grecs, p. 71 f.). Alexander is said to have inquired into the teachings of the Indian philosophers. Megasthenes spent many years in India in the early part of the 3rd century B. C. and wrote a book called Indica which was used by Strabo, Arrian and Aelian. D. L. men-

tions the Indian gymnosophists and their teachings and quotes Clitarchus as his authority (1, 6); this Clitarchus is said to have flourished about 300 B. C. (Plinius, Hist. Nat. 10, 70; cf. Quellenkunde der griechischen Geschichte, A. Schaefer, p. 67).

The Greeks were familiar with the idea that were other civilizations which were older than their own and that philosophy came to them from people whom they called barbarians (Quid Graeci de Origine Philosophiae a Barbaris Ducenda Existimaverunt, F. Schaefer). Lucian describes a personified Philosophy as saying; " My first flight was not directed towards Greece. . . . First, I went to the Indians, the mightest nation upon earth. The Brahmins . . . are mine to a man (Runaways 6).

Arrian says; " The Indians generally are divided into seven castes. Those called the wise men are less in number than the rest, but chiefest in honor and regard: For they are under no necessity to do any bodily labor; nor to contribute from the results of their work to the common store: in fact, no sort of constraint whatever rests upon these wise men " (Indica 8, 11). We find here mention of a class of wise men who are recognized as such, who perform no labor and who enjoy unrestricted freedom. " There is also among them (the Indians) a pre-eminent race called Gymnosophists. . . . They are men skilled not in propagating the vine, nor in grafting trees, nor in tilling the ground. They know not how to cultivate the fields or to wash gold or to break horses or to tame bulls or to shear or feed sheep or goats. . . . They cultivate wisdom. . . . One relates that having been chosen arbitrator between two, he has allayed their quarrel, restored good will, cleared up suspicion and changed them from enemies to friends. . . . Another that he has found out something by his own reflection, or from another's teaching " (Apuleius, Florida 6). This was the field which the Greek Cynics sought to occupy, but they do not seem to have gained the respect and confidence of the people among whom they lived to the same extent as the wise men of India—perhaps because they did not exercise similar care in preparing themselves for their vocation or because they did not make equal efforts to perform useful service.

Among the companions of Alexander in his expedition to India was Onesicritus, who claimed to have been a disciple of Diogenes and who wrote a biography of Alexander. " Onesicritus says that he himself was sent to converse with these (Indian) sophists; for Alexander had heard that these people always went naked and devoted themselves to endurance (καρτερίας), and that they were held in very great honor. . . . He found fifteen men . . . who were in different postures, standing or sitting or lying naked and motionless till evening . . . and that it was very hard to endure the sun, which was so hot that at midday no one else could easily endure walking on the ground with bare feet. At all events, all he (Mandanis, the oldest and wisest of the sophists) said, according to Onesicritus, tended to this, that the best teaching is that which removes pleasure and pain from the soul; and that grief (λύπη) and hardship (πόνος) differ, for the former is inimical to man and the latter friendly, since man trains the body for hardship in order that his opinions may be strengthened, whereby he may put a stop to dissensions and be ready to give good advice to all, both in public and in private. . . . Mandanis inquired whether such doctrines were taught among the Greeks; and when he (Onesicritus) answered that Pythagoras taught such doctrines, and also bade people to abstain from meat, as did also Socrates and Diogenes, Mandanis replied that he regarded the Greek as sound minded in general, but that they were wrong in one respect, in that they preferred custom to nature; for otherwise, Mandanis said, they would not be ashamed to go naked, like himself, and live on frugal fare. . . . Whenever they chance upon anyone carrying figs or bunches of grapes, they get fruit from that person as a free offering " (Strabo 15, 1, 63-65). We find in this passage several Cynic ideas,—endurance, apathy, living according to nature, shamelessness and a class of wise men entitled to receive contributions.

These wise men were probably Jains—members of an ancient Indian sect which avoided the ownership of property and did not recognize the authority of the Vedas or the existence of a God. The Jains sought by renunciation to escape from the ocean of

transmigration and practised asceticism " to disengage the essence of the spirit from its phenomenal environment " (Lecture Notes, Prof. P. E. Dumont). The early Jains were atheists and the early Buddhists were agnostics; the early Cynics seem to have been atheists or agnostics. The Jains, Buddhists and Cynics were individualists. The most ascetic branch of the Jains went without clothing. Their ascetic exercises were paralleled by Diogenes in his rolling on hot sand, embracing cold statues and walking on snow barefoot (D. L. 6, 23 & 34). The following seems to indicate that these exercises were not understood in Greece: " One of the Spartans saw Diogenes the Cynic holding his arms around a bronze statue in very cold weather and asked Diogenes if he was cold and when Diogenes said ' No,' the other said: ' What great thing are you doing then? ' " (Plutarch, Sayings of the Spartans, 233, 16).

The following from Plutarch seems to have come from the same source as the above passage from Strabo: " To those who were in greatest reputation among them (Indian philosophers) and lived a private quiet life, he (Alexander) sent Onesicritus, one of Diogenes the Cynic's disciples, desiring them to come to him. Calanus, it is said, very arrogantly and roughly commanded him to strip himself and hear what he said naked, otherwise he would not speak a word to him, though he came from Zeus himself. But Mandanis received him with more civility, and hearing him discourse of Socrates, Pythagoras and Diogenes, told him he thought them men of great parts, and to have erred in nothing so much as in having too great respect for the laws and customs of their country " (Lives, Alexander 65). The lack of respect for laws and customs expressed here was also an element of Cynic teaching.

Arrian writes: " Once when he (Alexander) came to Taxila and saw those of the Indian wise men who go naked, he desired very much that one of these men should join him, since he so much admired their endurance (καρτερίαν). On this the oldest among these wise men, whose pupils the others were, called Dandanis, said that he would not join Alexander and would not permit any

of his school to do so. For he is said to have replied that he was just as much a son of Zeus himself as Alexander was, and that he had no need of anything from Alexander, since he was contented with what he had; he perceived, moreover, that those who were wandering about with Alexander over all those countries and seas were none the better for it, and that there was no end to their many wanderings. He did not then desire anything that Alexander could give him, nor did he fear being kept out of anything of which Alexander might be possessed. While he lived, the land of India was all he needed, giving to him its fruits in their season; and when he died, he would merely be released from an uncomfortable companion, his body" (Anabasis 7, 2, 1-4). The ideas here attributed to Dandanis are substantially the same as those expressed in the Letters of Diogenes, and the speech of Dandanis exemplifies the Cynic conception of freedom of speech.

Plutarch represents Alexander as motivated by the desire to carry Greek civilization into Asia and as saying: "We purpose to settle the victorious Greeks in India. . . . There by report live a certain people professing a rigid and austere philosophy and more frugal than Diogenes, as going altogether naked. They have no occasion for scrip or wallet, for they never lay up provisions, having always fresh and new food gathered from the earth" (The Fortune or Virtue of Alexander). Here Plutarch evidently associates the Gymnosophists of India with the Greek Cynics and represents Alexander as having knowledge of them before the expedition. The Gautama Buddha, Sakhya Muni, is represented as carrying a bowl in which he received contributions of food and as wearing a mean robe of the color of the ground. The Buddhist mendicant monks were celibates, wore distinctive saffron robes and carried begging bowls.

The early Cynics and Stoics are alleged to have approved of cannibalism and Diogenes is said to have cited "the custom of some foreign nations" in support of it (D. L. 6, 73; cf. D. L. 7, 188; Philodemus, Concerning the Stoics; Theophilus Antiochenus, Ad Autolycum 3, 5; Dio Chrysostom 8, 14). An answer to the question as to what foreign nations are referred to here can be

found in Herodotus. " Darius once sent for such of the Greeks as were dependent on his power, and asked them what reward would induce them to eat the bodies of their deceased parents; they replied that no sum could prevail on them to commit such a deed. In the presence of the same Greeks . . . he sent also for the Callatiae, a people of India known to eat the bodies of their parents. He asked them for what sum they would consent to burn the bodies of their parents. The Indians were disgusted at the question, and entreated him to forbear such language " (Herod. 3, 38). Among the Greeks mentioned may have been some from Sinope, since that city was readily accessible from Babylon; the passage indicates that cannibalism was as abhorrent to the Asiatic Greeks as it was to Greeks living in Europe. " To the east of these (Indians) are other Indians, called Padae, who lived a pastoral life, live on raw flesh, and are said to observe these customs: if any man among them be diseased, his nearest connections put him to death . . . The more aged among them are regularly killed and eaten " (Herod. 3, 99). Megasthenes, who spent several years in India in the early part of the 3rd century B. C., is quoted by Strabo as saying, " Men living in the Hindoo Koosh Mountains copulate with women in public and eat the bodies of their relatives " (15, 32; cf. Eusebius, Praep. Evang. 6, 10).

The eating of raw flesh, which Herodotus attributes to the Padae in India, is also connected with Diogenes (D. L. 6, 34; Plutarch, Whether Water or Fire is More Useful; Ibid., The Eating of Flesh; Dio Chrysostom 6, 25 & 29).

Similar ideas and practices developed in India and Greece independently of each other but in the case of Cynicism the similarities are numerous and striking and, since communication existed, the most probable inference is that there was actual connection. The Greeks were receptive of ideas from other nations while the Indians were not and it resulted that the Greeks were more influenced by contact than the Indians. Diogenes was believed to have carried new ideas to Greece, for this is the significance of the theory that he " falsified the currency " there in a figurative sense (D. L. 6, 71; Julian 6, 188) and the ideas which he carried

were not Sinopean but Indian. Some of the ideas of Cynicism may have been brought to Greece by Diogenes, others by travelers in India (e. g. Democritus, Anaxarchus, Pyrrho and Megasthenes) and still others by companions of Alexander on their return to Greece. Ideas which became incorporated in Cynicism after the death of Diogenes would readily have become connected with him through the growth of the Diogenes Legend.

Diogenes is also connected with the idea of incest and the tragedy " Oedipus " attributed to him is supposed to have dealt with this subject. Kurt von Fritz writes; " These two works (Thyestes and Oedipus), in one of which Diogenes defended cannibalism, while in the other he allowed incest and declared it to be natural, must have been very unpleasant to the Stoics " (Quellen-Untersuchungen, p. 56). Dio Chrysostom represents Diogenes as saying of Oedipus: " When he had children by his mother, he should have concealed this or made it legal in Thebes. . . . Domestic fowls do not object to such relationships, nor dogs, nor any ass, nor do the Persians, although they pass for the aristocracy of Asia " (10, 29-30). This idea seems to have come from Babylon (D. L. 1, 7; Philo, On Special Laws 3; Plutarch, De Alex. Virtute; Eusebius, Praep. Evang. 6, 10; Sextus Empiricus, Pyrrh. Hypot. 3, 205). It was abhorrent to the Greeks as is shown by the Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles. Xenophon represents Socrates as saying that it was a law of the gods that parents should not marry their own children (Mem. Soc. 4, 4).

Living, as Diogenes did at Sinope, on a highway between Europe and Asia, he was doubtless impressed as Herodotus states Darius to have been (3, 38) with the differences between the customs of different nations; this was probably the origin of his idea that standards of morality were merely matters of local opinion and had no sanction in nature. The more direct route which Alexander opened to India brought prosperity to Alexandria and caused Sinope to shrink into insignificance. Thenceforth Alexandria became the harbor of Indian ideas and observances, some of which have been traced to Neo-Platonism and Christianity.

Also we must take into account Julian's opinion that Cynicism

is a universal and natural philosophy (6, 187). Greek Cynicism was chiefly a relaxation of the ordinary restraints of civilized man and freeing the natural impulses; among these impulses are indolence, selfishness, envy and ill-nature. Cynics have opposed every step of human progress and cynicism is probably coeval with the human race. It is likely that the first man who shaped a stone hammer was jerred at by cynics who claimed that unshaped stones were better. Diogenes scolded the rich, scoffed at the religious and learned and abused public officials, and this hatred of all forms of superiority is frequently encountered today.

ANTISTHENES THE SOCRATIC

Antisthenes has been harshly dealt with by modern writers. Duemmler calls him " Cynicorum princeps " (Antisthenica, p. 2), and Adolf Mueller calls him the leader and originator (princeps atque auctor) of the Cynic sect (De Antisthenis Cynici Vita et Scriptis, p. 12). Tredennick calls him " The Cynic; contemporary and renegade ' disciple ' of Socrates " (Aristotle, Metaphysics 5, 29, note) and Campbell (Theaetetus, Introd., p. XL), H. von Arnim (Dio von Prusa, pp. 32-36) and others describe him in unfavorable terms. There appear, however, to be grounds for revising these opinions.

Antisthenes was one of the closest friends of Socrates. He was the son of an Athenian citizen and he is said to have served with credit in the Athenian army (D. L. 6, 1). Xenophon represents Socrates as saying that Antisthenes never left him (Mem. Soc. 3, 11, 17) and Plato says that Antisthenes was with Socrates at his death (Phaedo 59). He was devoted to Socrates (Xen. Banquet 4, 45) and loved Socrates with his whole heart (Xen. Banquet 8, 4). Xenophon virtually states that Antisthenes had no opinions which were at variance with those of Socrates, for he represents him as saying; " Wealth of my sort will make you liberal of soul. Look at Socrates; from him it was that I got these riches. He did not supply me with it by weight or measure, but just as much as I could carry, he with bounteous hand consigned to me " (Banquet 4, 44). He boasts also that he has the affection and confidence of Socrates, for he says; " And he on his side is not the person to admire those whose tale of gold and silver happens to be the largest, but those who are well pleasing to him, he chooses for companions, and will consort with to the end " (Banquet 4, 45). Antisthenes enumerates justice, courage and wisdom as the elements of virtue and places justice as the most important (Banquet 3, 4). He practices temperance (Banquet 4, 44) and thus it appears that his conception of virtue was that of Socrates as made

known to us by Plato in the Republic, Meno, Charmides and Laches.

Xenophon represents Socrates as asking him " whether friends may not differ in value." Antisthenes replies that there are some men whose friendship he values so highly that he would sacrifice any sum and take any trouble to obtain it (Mem. Soc. 2, 5, 3). His views on this subject appear to be the same as those of Socrates, and the reverse of those of the Cynics, for the Cynics avoided friendships.

Although poor as compared with Callias and some other members of the Socratic circle, he must have been possessed of property, for otherwise he could not have taken lessons from Gorgias (D. L. 6, 1). We learn from Xenophon that he owned real estate (Banquet 3, 8), and the income which he derived from it was sufficient to enable him to devote his whole time to learning from Socrates and to discussions with his friends (Banquet 4, 45). His income is small but with economy he manages to satisfy his wants. He lives in a comfortable house and has a comfortable bed. He does not complain of hardships or ask for assistance from any one. If he should lose his income, he will take up some gainful occupation, and will be able to support himself without difficulty because he has learned to live on a slender income (Banquet 4, 44). He makes no parade of poverty, in fact, denies that he is poor and claims to be wealthy because he is living in comfort, has everything which he needs and is able to spend his time in the way which he likes best. Like Socrates, he finds his chief pleasure in intellectual pursuits and in the society of his friends; but the frankness with which he discusses the pleasure which he derives from intercourse with women and from drinking wine shows that he has no prejudice against other pleasures. His friendship with Callias shows that he has no prejudice against the rich.

" Of all the Socratics, Antisthenes alone is praised by Theopompus, who says that he had consummate skill and could by means of agreeable discourse win over whomsoever he pleased. And this is clear from his writings and from Xenophon's Banquet " (D. L. 6, 14). Theopompus was a disciple of Isocrates;

if there had been any feud between Antisthenes and Isocrates, as is imagined by H. von Arnim (Dio von Prusa, pp. 32-36), it is not likely that Theopompus would have praised Antisthenes in this way.* The passage of Xenophon which is referred to here is Banquet 4, 58-61, in which Socrates is represented as saying in part; " What are the duties of a good go-between . . . is it the business of a good go-between to make him (or her) on whom he plies his art agreeable to those with him? . . . Further toward agreeableness one step, at any rate, consists in wearing a becoming fashion of the hair and dress . . . The good go-between will teach only what conduces to agreeableness . . . If he were able to make his clients pleasing to the whole community, should we not have found in this accomplished person an arch go-between? . . . Just such a man, I take it, is before you in the person of Antisthenes."

Antisthenes is described here as neatly and becomingly dressed, a man of courteous manners with the faculty of imparting agreeable manners to others. The Socratic tradition of good manners is mentioned by Cicero; " Let our common discourse therefore (and this is the great excellence of the followers of Socrates) be smooth and good humored, without the least arrogance " (De Officiis 1, 37).

Aristotle refers to Antisthenes with marked respect in the following: " A thesis is a supposition of some eminent philosopher (*τῶν γνωρίμων τινός κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν*) that conflicts with the general opinion; e. g. the view that contradiction is impossible, as Antisthenes said; or the view of Heraclitus that all things are in motion; or that Being is one as Melissus says: for to take notice when any ordinary person expresses views contrary to men's usual opinions would be silly " (Topica 1, 2, 104b20). It is worthy of note that while Aristotle calls Aristippus a sophist (Metaph. 3, 2, 996a, 33), he classes Antisthenes with Heraclitus and Melissus and makes a distinction between these three and ordinary persons. He also quotes Antisthenes with respect in Politica 3, 128 4a; and in Rhetorica 3, 4, 1407a9 he says, " Antisthenes compared the lean

* Vide infra, p. 70.

Cephisodotus to frankincense, because it was his consumption that gave one pleasure." This seems to be a graceful tribute from one writer to another—one which in recent times might have been applied to John Keats, who wrote his best poetry while dying of tuberculosis.

But while Aristotle expresses respect for Antisthenes, he is at war with some of his opinions; and the principle of contradiction was one of the foundation stones of Aristotle's philosophy (Metaph. 4, 3, 1005b18). He says; "Antisthenes foolishly (εὐήθως) claimed that nothing could be described except by its own conception—one predicate to one subject; from which it followed that there could be no contradiction and almost that there could be no error" (Metaph. 5, 29, 1024b). The word translated "foolishly" here means etymologically "good-naturedly" and perhaps originally had this significance. As used by Aristotle here it appears to be an euphemism; he probably wished to avoid the inconsistency of saying that Antisthenes was a man whose opinions should be regarded with respect and then calling him "foolish." He uses harsher language in regard to opinions of Plato and other philosophers when he finds them at variance with his own.

Some light seems to be thrown on the subject of the disagreement between Antisthenes and Aristotle by Aristotle's comment on the followers of Antisthenes; "The difficulty which perplexed the Antistheneans and others similarly unlearned has a certain application; I mean the difficulty that it is impossible to define what a thing is (for the definition, they say, is a lengthy formula), but it is possible actually to teach others what a thing is like; e. g., we cannot say what silver is, but we can say that it is like tin" (Metaph. 8, 3, 1043b24). It is of interest to note that the followers of Antisthenes were called Antistheneans and that they were engaged in studies which were rejected and ridiculed by the Cynics as useless sophistry. We note also that the Antistheneans were interested in definitions; and their interest in this subject was probably inherited from Socrates (Aristotle, Metaph. 13, 4, 1078b28).

Aristotle's mention of the opinions of the Antistheneans is, on

the whole, commendatory; his use of the word "unlearned" (ἀπαίδευτοι) may merely mean that they did not make use of his system of logic; he elsewhere makes use of the same word in regard to persons who were unacquainted with this system (Metaph. 4, 1005b3-1006a6). Aristotle attached to this system an importance which has not always been accorded it since; it was attacked by Francis Bacon and it has been abandoned by Hegelians. We do not know precisely what Antisthenes' attitude was in regard to the principle of contradiction. We have not his statement of it and Aristotle's presentation of opinions with which he did not agree is often conspicuously unfair (Cf. Harold Cherniss, Aristotle's Criticism of Presocratic Philosophy). The attempts which have been made to reconstruct it (W. D. Ross, Aristotle's Metaphysics, Vol. 1, p. 347) are not conclusive. The principle of contradiction, when coupled with the qualification "at the same time and in the same sense," must be accepted by every one; but as discussed by Antisthenes it may not have had these limitations.

If we confine our attention to the information which we have of Antisthenes from Plato, Xenophon, Theopompus and Aristotle we will find in it a tolerably complete description of him—more complete, in fact, than that which we have of any other Socratic. The unfavorable opinions which some modern authors have expressed of him seem to be based chiefly on an impression that he was spoken of contemptuously by Plato and Aristotle. A fair consideration of the mentions of Antisthenes and his followers as quoted above from Aristotle does not appear to confirm this impression.

With respect to Plato the impression is based entirely on forced and unwarranted interpretations of passages in Plato's Dialogues. A list of these interpretations is to be found in the article on Antisthenes in Pauly-Wissowa (Real Enc. Vol. 1, p. 2539), written by P. Natorp. Abuse of Antisthenes is found in Theaetetus 202D and Sophist 251B and he is satirized in the Euthydemus, Cratylus, Hippias Major, Hippias Minor, Ion, Euthyphro and other dialogues. These interpretations are remarkable for the diversity of the characters which they assign to Antisthenes; as F. Duemmler

remarks, he must have been as versatile as Proteus (Antisthenica p. 63). The authors who accept these interpretations regard Antisthenes as a Cynic; they thus give him an additional character—one incompatible with the others, for it is to be noted that none of these interpretations represent Antisthenes as being like Diogenes.

Generally speaking, these interpretations of Plato's Dialogues are improbable in themselves, inconsistent with one another and with better evidence and cannot be verified or corroborated. Duemmler calls Antisthenes a rhapsodist and says that the Ion is a satire on him; but we find that Xenophon represented Antisthenes as saying, " Did you ever come across a sillier tribe of people than these same rhapsodists? " (Banquet 3, 6). Ernst Weber sees Antisthenes both in the unknown questioner in the Hippias Major and in Hippias himself (De Dione Chrysostomo Cynicorum Sectatore). But these two characters are incompatible because the questioner is seeking a definition of beauty in the abstract and Hippias is unable to grasp the conception of an abstract quality; the unknown questioner is virtually stated to be Socrates himself and Hippias was a real person. So also was Euthydemus a real person and probably the subjects of all of Plato's satires, for it was the practice of the time for satires to use the names of the persons satirized, as we see from the use of the names of Socrates and Cleon by Aristophanes.

H. Kesters recently finds references to Antisthenes in the Phaedrus, Clitophon, Protagoras, Republic (V-VII), Hippias Major, Gorgias, Euthydemus, Cratylus, Theaetetus, Sophist and Politicus. E. de Strycker says of these references, " If his conclusions are correct, we must admit that the polemic against Antisthenes formed one of the chief aims of Plato's literary activity " (Archives de Philosophie, Vol. XII, Cahier III, p. 183); after investigation de Strycker concludes, " We cannot hope to obtain from this source revealing light upon the literary work and philosophy of Plato " (Ibid. p. 206). All of the fancied references to Antisthenes in the Dialogues of Plato are discredited by A. E. Taylor; he finds in these interpretations a " really wanton attempt to find a hidden

attack on Antisthenes" (Plato, the Man and his Work, p. 333 n.). W. D. Ross says, "Maier seems to follow Duemmler too readily in scenting allusions to Antisthenes in Plato" (Aristotle, Metaphysics, Vol. 1, p. 263).

Hieronymus says of Antisthenes; "Of his poverty and toil Xenophon in the Symposium is a witness and so are his countless treatises, some philosophical, some rhetorical" (Adversus Jovianum 2, 14). An examination of the list of his writings as given by D. L. furnishes some grounds for Timon's criticism of him for writing so much as well as for calling him a prolific trifler (D. L. 6, 15-18). The titles do not show that any of these writings were expositions of Cynicism and many were on subjects which were avoided by the Cynics. The criticism of Cicero is the best we have; writing to Atticus he says, "The Fourth and Fifth Cyrus pleased me, as have the other writings of Antisthenes, a man more intelligent than learned" (12, 38). Since Cicero regarded himself as an Academic and totally rejected Cynicism (De Officiis 1, 41), his comment indicates that he did not find in the writings of Antisthenes any abuse of Plato or any Cynic teaching. It also indicates that these writings were of a popular character and did not aim at any display of profundity.

Julian says: "Xenophon, as we know, and Antisthenes and Plato often introduced myths,—so that it is obvious that even if the use of the myth be not appropriate for the Cynic, still it may be so for some other type of philosopher . . . When Antisthenes and Xenophon and Plato himself discuss certain ethical theories they use myths as one of the ingredients" (7, 215-217). Here we find the writings of Antisthenes classed with those of Plato and Xenophon and as representing a type of philosophy distinct from that of the Cynics. Julian says also; "If the Cynics had composed treatises with any serious purposes . . . it would have been proper for my opponent to be guided by them . . . but nothing of the sort exists" (6, 186). Since Julian was acquainted with the writings of Antisthenes and regarded them as serious he evidently did not think of them as Cynic treatises.

Epictetus connects the writings of Antisthenes with those of

Plato and Xenophon and speaks of their excellent style (Arrian 2, 17, 36), but we note that he takes his teaching from Chrysippus—perhaps because he did not find anything which he could use in the writings of Antisthenes. Fronto says, " Do you rank the words of Diodorus and Alexinus higher than the words of Plato and Xenophon and Antisthenes? " (Ambr. 392). Lucian mentions the writings of Antisthenes in connection with those of Plato and other writers (The Ignorant Book-collector 27). The writings of Antisthenes are mentioned also by Athenaeus, Stobaeus, Erotianus, Pollux, Photius, Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Demetrius Phalereus, Longinus and Phrynicus (cf. Charles Chappuis, Antisthène, Paris, 1854; Adolf Mueller, De Antisthenis Cynici Vita et Scriptis; A. G. Winckelmann, Antisthenis Fragmenta).

Two writings listed by D. L. among those of Antisthenes have come down to us and may actually have been written by him. They are imaginative literary productions, entitled Ajax and Ulysses; in the Ajax stealing from temples is vigorously denounced; in the Ulysses it is excused only as a military necessity; Diogenes " saw no impropriety in stealing anything from a temple " (D. L. 6, 73). The exaltation of warlike deeds which appears in both the Ajax and the Ulysses is incompatible with Cynicism. Neither of these essays as we have them contains any trace of Cynic thought.

Among the writings of Antisthenes listed by D. L. we find " Satho or Of Contradiction." This work is mentioned with peculiar prominence by Athenaeus (5, 220d; 11, 507a) and by D. L. (3, 35) and is said to contain foul abuse of Plato and of many other persons. This seems inconsistent with our information of the character of Antisthenes and incompatible with the comments of Cicero and others on his writings. The cause stated, a disagreement in regard to the application of the principle of contradiction does not seem to be of a nature to provoke personal animosity. It seems probable that Cicero and others who commented favorably on the works of Antisthenes did not see this book or else did not give it the interpretation which was given it by Athenaeus and D. L. A bitter hatred of the Academy existed among the Stoics. Plutarch represents an Academic as saying: " I have been

shaken and brought into perplexity of mind by certain Stoics, in other things very good men and my familiar friends, but most bitterly bent against the Academy" (Common Conceptions against the Stoics). The Stoics realized that if Plato was accepted as the interpreter of Socrates, their own pretensions of being Socratics would fall to the ground. This is probably the origin of the claim that "Even when Socrates and Timaeus are the speakers, it is Plato's doctrines that are laid down" (D. L. 3, 52). The Stoics claimed succession from Socrates through Antisthenes (Cicero, De Oratore, 3, 16-18) and it was consistent with this claim to attempt to show a disagreement between him and Plato.

It is possible that some Stoic of the Christian era wrote the "Satho," expressing his own feelings toward Plato, and inserted it among the writings of Antisthenes. Or it is possible that Athenaeus and D. L. misinterpreted it; they probably did not read it and they may have taken their impression of its contents from some Stoic who exaggerated its opposition to Plato. There is a noticeable tendency to represent the Socratics as quarreling with one another—a tendency which may have grown out of the rivalries between the schools claiming succession from Socrates. D. L. says that Plato abused Aristippus (2, 65; 3, 36), whereas Plato merely classed Aristippus with himself as not present at the death of Socrates and offered a better reason for Aristippus' absence than for his own (Phaedo 59C). D. L. says that Plato was on bad terms, not only with Antisthenes, but also with Xenophon, Aeschines and Aristippus, that Xenophon was no friend of Aristippus, and that there was a quarrel between Aristippus and Aeschines (2, 60-61, 65, 82-83; 3, 34-36). These stories may have developed out of the rivalries and dissensions of the various schools which claimed a Socratic origin, especially from the bitterness of the Stoics against the Academy. If Antisthenes had desired to comment on Plato it is likely that he would have made use of his name since that was the practice of the time; he appears to have used the names of Isocrates, Theognis, Aspasia, Menexenus, Alcibiades and Archelaus (D. L. 6, 15-18). The tradition of a quarrel between Plato and Antisthenes about the principle of

contradiction (D. L. 3, 35) may have had no foundation other than the objection of Aristotle to Antisthenes' position in regard to it (Metaph. 5, 29, 1024b), the name of Plato being substituted for that of Aristotle in the development of the story.

If the Cynics and Stoics had obtained their doctrines from Antisthenes we would probably find extensive fragments of Antisthenes in the works of Stoic authors. But the fragments of Antisthenes which have come down to us are few and meager, and they harmonize with the writings of Plato and Xenophon. In the Socratic dialogues of Antisthenes (D. L. 2, 64), if anywhere, would be found the Cynic interpretation of the teachings of Socrates. But these dialogues were not preserved and are nowhere quoted. It is a reasonable inference that these dialogues, as well as the other writings of Antisthenes, contained nothing which supported the views which were peculiar to the Cynics and Stoics.

It is stated that Antisthenes " showed that labor was a good by the examples of the great Hercules and Cyrus " (D. L. 6, 2); this seems to give us information of the contents and purpose of his books on Hercules and Cyrus (D. L. 6, 16). He is stated to have said that " The pleasures that come after labor are to be sought, but not those that come before it " (Stobaeus, Flor. 2, 29, 65); this has the appearance of a fragment of his writings. Xenophon represents him as saying; " If anyone should deprive me of the goods I now possess, I should consider no labor so mean that it could not provide me with enough to live on " (Banquet 4, 40). These sayings are in entire accord with the teachings of Socrates as reported by Plato and Xenophon; they are contrary to the ideas of the Cynics, who avoided labor, regarded it as an evil and associated it with hardship.

The saying quoted above, " That pleasures that come after labor are to be sought, but not those that come before it," expresses the idea that pleasure is a good and should be sought for, but that it should not interfere with duties or with necessary and useful work. Antisthenes is also quoted as saying, " Neither a banquet without conversation nor wealth without virtue confer pleasure " (Stobaeus, Flor. 1, 1, 30). " Antisthenes, saying that pleasure was

a good, added that it should be such as did not have to be repented of" (Athenaeus 12, 513A). All three of these passages have the appearance of fragments of Antisthenes' writings and all three are thoroughly Socratic; the last might be regarded as a free quotation from Plato (Philebus 66A or 64A).

But we find in opposition to this, "He (Antisthenes) used repeatedly to say, 'I'd rather be mad than feel pleasure,'" (D. L. 6, 3). The formula "used repeatedly to say" shows that this is not taken from the writings of Antisthenes and that it is not a report of a remark connected with a definite time and place. It is repeated by Clemens Alexandrinus (Stromata 2, 20) and by Eusebius Pamphili (Praep. Evang. 15, 13, 61), but we note that it does not appear before the 3rd century A. D. and it may have been invented in the 2nd century A. D. by some one who wished to add weight to his own idea by foisting it on Antisthenes. It is not only inconsistent with the character of Antisthenes as we know it from Xenophon, but is also inconsistent with the teachings of Socrates and even with the ideas of early Cynicism. The early Cynics regarded happiness as the end to be sought and they did not exclude pleasure. The passage, "I'd rather be mad than feel pleasure," belongs to the morbid fanaticism of the Stoics of the Christian era,—expressed also by the following: "He who pursues pleasure as good and avoids pain as evil is guilty of impiety" (Marcus Aurelius, Thoughts 9, 1); "Nothing is meaner than love of pleasure and love of gain and pride" (Epictetus, Fragments 51, Bohn); "The lecture room of the philosopher is a hospital, you ought not to walk out of it in pleasure, but in pain" (Epictetus, Arrian 3, 23, 30).

The following is an anachronism of the same kind; "When he (Antisthenes) turned the torn part of his cloak so that it came into view, Socrates no sooner saw this than he said, 'I spy your love of fame peeping through your cloak'" (D. L. 6, 8; Aelian, V. H. 9, 35). This story belongs to a period when the Cynics constituted an order of professional beggars and vied with one another in the completeness of their beggar-like appearance. Xenophon represents Socrates as saying that Antisthenes "wore a becoming fashion of the hair and dress" (Banquet 4, 60).

The idea attributed to Antisthenes, that the wise man "will marry in order to have children from union with the handsomest women; furthermore that he will not disdain to love, for only the wise man knows who are worthy to be loved" (D. L. 6, 11), appears to be a fragment from his book "On the procreation of children, or Of Marriage: a discourse on love" (D. L. 6, 16). Opposed to it we find; "Antisthenes says, 'Could I catch Aphrodite, I would shoot her. . . . Eros is a vice of nature, and the wretches who fall under his power call the disease a deity'" (Clemens Alex. Strom. 2, 20). Fragments of Antisthenes' writings or even passages which appear to be such are better evidence of his opinions than stories of late appearance, unknown origin and having an obvious tendency.

The Diogenes tradition uniformly represents him as an exile from Sinope and the accounts of his exile generally agree in connecting it with the adulteration of coinage there, though they do not agree in regard to Diogenes' relation to it. A study has recently been made of ancient Sinopean coins, and it is found that, while the coins of the period prior to 350 B. C. are uniformly good, a large proportion of the coins which appeared there in 350 B. C. are bad (D. R. Dudley, A History of Cynicism, p. 54). This indicates that Diogenes came to Greece in 350 B. C. or later.* The date ordinarily accepted for the death of Antisthenes is 366 B. C., which indicates that Diogenes could not have seen him and shakes the claim of direct succession of the Cynics and Stoics from Socrates through Antisthenes.

The most popular account of the meeting of Antisthenes and Diogenes is the following. "On reaching Athens he (Diogenes) fell in with Antisthenes. Being repulsed by him, because he never welcomed pupils, by sheer persistence Diogenes wore him out. Once when he stretched out his staff against him, the pupil offered his head with the words, 'Strike, for you will find no wood hard enough to keep me away from you, so long as I think you've something to say.' From that time forward he was his pupil and, exile as he was, set out upon a simple life" (D. L. 6, 21). Slightly differing versions of the same story appear in Aelian V. H. 10, 16

* Vide infra, pp. 72-74.

and Hieronymus, Adv. Jovianum 2, 14, but it is noted that this story makes its appearance in the 3rd century A. D. and that it is of unknown origin. It is inconsistent with the characters of both Antisthenes and Diogenes as they are represented elsewhere. It is incompatible with the account of the meeting of Antisthenes and Diogenes which we find in the 30th Letter of Diogenes, which is also an invention but is the older of the two. Both stories have the literary characteristics of fiction; they are dramatic, assign a heroic role to Diogenes and lead to a climax and a happy ending.

It is a noteworthy fact that early Cynic writings speak of Diogenes as an original teacher and do not mention Antisthenes. Crates said that he " was a fellow-citizen of Diogenes " (D. L. 6, 93). Teles and Bion quote sayings of Socrates and Diogenes and do not mention Antisthenes. Teles quotes Xenophon and refers to Plato as an authority in regard to Socrates (Stobaeus, Flor. 1, 5, 67). Onesicritus, who claimed to be a disciple of Diogenes, on being asked by an Indian philosopher if there were any wise men in Greece who taught as he did, named Pythagoras, Socrates and Diogenes (Strabo 15, 1, 63; Plutarch, Lives, Alexander 65). Sotades of Maroneia, 3rd Century B. C., who was reputed to be a Cynic, mentions Socrates and Diogenes as philosophers but does not name Antisthenes (Stobaeus, Flor. 3, 98, 9).

Philodemus, writing in the early 1st century B. C., in his treatise " On the Stoics " (Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde, W. Crönert, Vol. 6, p. 55), apparently does not know the story that Diogenes was a disciple of Antisthenes or else disbelieves it, for he speaks only of their teachings being put together. He says of the Stoics: *τὰ Ἀντισθένους καὶ Διογένους συνέστη διὸ καὶ Σωκρατικοὶ καλεῖσθαι θέλουσιν.* This may mean that they put the teachings of Antisthenes and Diogenes together, hence (it appears that) they also wish to be called Socratics. Or it may be translated, " The teachings of Antisthenes and of Diogenes were put together, and for this reason they (Stoics) also are ordinarily called Socratics."

The spurious Letters of Diogenes and Crates are generally regarded as belonging approximately to the time of Philodemus; they seem to be the work of several different writers and some

of them may be a century older than others (Von Fritz, Quellenuntersuchungen, p. 63 f.; W. Capelle, De Cynicorum Epistulis). Only five of the fifty-one Letters of Diogenes and only one of the thirty-six Letters of Crates mention Antisthenes and these may have been written later than the others. In the 16th Letter of Crates we find, "The Cynic philosophy is from Diogenes the Dog." In the 20th Letter of Crates Cynicism is called "the philosophy of Diogenes." Fifteen of the Letters of Crates mention Diogenes, usually as the originator of the Cynic philosophy or as the leader of the Cynic sect. In the Letters of Diogenes the teaching is always represented as original with him; he never quotes Socrates or Antisthenes. In the 39th Letter we find; "You should think of your removal from here . . . this is a separation of the still living soul from the body; this, I think, is what the Socratics call death and it is easy to think so." This indicates that at the time this Letter was written the Cynics did not claim to be Socratics.

The adoption of Hercules as a model, guide and patron saint seems to have followed the adoption of Antisthenes as a teacher and originator, and was probably due to the influence of the writings of Antisthenes. Antisthenes is said to have written three books on Hercules and four on Cyrus (D. L. 6, 15-18). He was a friend of the wealthy Callias and also of the teacher Prodicus, and Xenophon represents Socrates as commending him for introducing Callias to Prodicus, thereby benefitting them both (Banquet 4, 62). He was, no doubt, familiar with the essay of Prodicus on Hercules (Xen. Mem. Soc. 2, 1, 21) and his books on Hercules may have been inspired by this essay of Prodicus. The information of these books furnished by D. L. (6, 2; 6, 104-105) indicates that they were Socratic in character. Hercules is spoken of as a guide and model in only one of the Letters of Diogenes (the 26th) and in none of the Letters of Crates. In the 19th Letter of Crates the origin of the Cynic philosophy is discussed without mention of either Hercules or Antisthenes; a Cynic is instructed that he should not regard Ulysses but Diogenes as "the father of the Cynic." *

* Vide supra, p. 29.

In the 36th Letter of Diogenes Hercules is jeered at and belittled and this seems to reflect the older Cynic attitude toward him. Clemens Alexandrinus says that Diagoras "taking a wooden image of Hercules (for he was cooking something at home), said, 'Come now, Hercules, now is the time to undergo for us this thirteenth labor, as you did the twelve for Eurystheus, and make this ready for Diagoras.' And so he cast it into the fire as a log of wood" (Protreptikon 2). This Diagoras seems to have been in touch with the early Cynics and A. Packmohr says that stories of him, including this one, were also told of Diogenes (De Diogenis Sinopensis apophthegmatis quaestiones selectae, p. 22). Tertullian says, "But I do not know what it was in Hercules that Diogenes ridiculed" (Apologeticus 14). This seems to refer to a tragedy attributed to Diogenes entitled "Hercules" (D. L. 6, 80). The tragedies attributed to Diogenes seem to have been of a character to shock public opinion; thus the Oedipus is believed to have approved of incest and the Thyestes (or Atreus) is stated to have permitted cannibalism and the Hercules probably ridiculed Hercules (D. L. 6, 73; Philodemus, On the Stoics; Ernst Weber, De Dione Chrysostomo Cynicorum Sectatore, p. 143). A clue to the grounds of ridicule, which Tertullian failed to find, seems to be furnished by a work of Lucian in which Diogenes is represented as meeting Hercules in Hades and as ridiculing him because he seems to be in two or three places at the same time, i. e., in heaven, in Hades and on Mt. Oeta (Dialogi Mortuorum 16). This work of Lucian is believed to be based on Cynic sources and this story of the meeting of Hercules and Diogenes may have come directly or indirectly from the Hercules tragedy attributed to Diogenes (Bernays, Lucian und die Kyniker; Helm, Lucian und Menipp).

The "Letters of the Cynics" (Diogenes and Crates) seem to be a meeting ground of an older Cynic tradition, in which Diogenes is the originator, taking Ulysses, Telephus or the heroes of the Iliad for his models, and a later tradition in which Antisthenes is the teacher of Diogenes and Hercules is the Cynic model. The later Cynics seem to have taken little from Antisthenes besides Hercules and they identified Hercules with the idea of freedom

(D. L. 6, 71) or with hardship (Dio Chrysostom 8, 28). Antisthenes seems to have intended him to represent labor and virtue (D. L. 6, 2). But there seems to have been an element, both in the Cynic and the Stoic sects, which was influenced by the writings of Antisthenes, for Julian says, " The better sort of Cynics assert that, in addition to the other blessings bestowed on us by the mighty Hercules, it was he who bequeathed to mankind the noblest example of this kind of life " (6, 187), and D. L. says, " It would seem that the most manly section of the Stoic School owed its origin to him (Antisthenes) " (6, 14).

Some of the later stories of Antisthenes preserved his Socratic character. " Antisthenes being asked how a person should approach politics said, ' Just as to a fire, not so close as to get burned, nor yet so far as to get cold ' " (Stobaeus, Flor. 2, 45, 28). The Cynics avoided politics altogether. The following seems to indicate that he was not in sympathy with beggars; " Such are the begging priests of Cybele. Hence Antisthenes replies appropriately to their request for alms, ' I do not support the mother of the gods, for the gods maintain her ' " (Clemens Alex. Protrept. 64). The following indicates that Antisthenes held to the Socratic standards; " Perceiving the Athenians raising an uproar in a theater at the line, ' What acts are base, if they do not seem so to the doers? ' Antisthenes immediately added, ' What is base is base, whether it seems so or not ' " (Plutarch, Quomodo adolescens audire poetas debeat 7, 115). The Cynics denied the validity of man-made standards. " Antisthenes in the Second Cyrus condemns Alcibiades and says that he was lawless in his relations with women as he was in other matters; for he says that Alcibiades cohabited with his mother, his sister and his daughter, as the Persians do " (Athenaeus 5, 220c). This contains a fragment of Antisthenes' writings and possesses weight as evidence. The Cynics permitted incest.

" Antisthenes said that the ignorant when awake appeared to be asleep " (Gnomologium Vaticanum 3); " Antisthenes the Socratic philosopher, being asked by some one what kind of garland was the finest, said, ' That from education ' " (Ioannes Damasce-

nus 2, 13, 33); Antisthenes said, " It is necessary for those who are to become good men to train the body with gymnastics and the soul by education " (Ibid. 2, 13, 68); " Antisthenes, seeing a drawing on a tablet of Achilles being taught by the centaur Cheiron, said, ' For the sake of an education it is a good thing to submit even to a beast ' " (Gnomologium Vaticanum 11). Opposed to these we find the following; " They (Cynics) also dispense with the ordinary subjects of instruction. At least Antisthenes used to say that those who had attained discretion had better not study reading and writing (γράμματα), lest they should be perverted by alien influences " (D. L. 6, 103). The formula " used to say " shows that this is not a quotation from one of Antisthenes' writings and leaves us at a loss in regard to the manner in which it could have been preserved.

The spurious letter of Antisthenes to Aristippus (R. Hercher, Epistolographi Graeci) depicts Antisthenes as a Cynic; it takes Aristippus to task for remaining at the court of a tyrant and expresses the undiscriminating Cynic hatred of rulers. But Antisthenes' use of Cyrus as a favorite hero shows that he had no prejudice against rulers.

Antisthenes seems to have been a deist; the Socratics generally tended toward monotheism. Cicero finds fault with his conception of the deity but says that his views on this subject were similar to those of Plato, Xenophon and Speusippus. He says; " Antisthenes also, in his work entitled The Natural Philosopher (D. L. 6, 17), says that while there are many gods of popular belief, there is one in nature, thus depriving the divinity of all meaning or substance " (De Natura Deorum 1, 13). Clemens Alexandrinus says: "Antisthenes did not think out this doctrine of the Cynics; but it was in virtue of his being a desciple of Socrates that he says, ' God is not like to any; wherefore no one can know him from an image ' " (Protreptikon 6; cf. Lactantius, Instit. 1, 5; Ibid. Epit. 4; Minucius Felix 19, 8). Clement seems to have had no reason for calling this a " doctrine of the Cynics " except that it came from Antisthenes; however, he recognizes it as Socratic. The Cynics were generally atheists or agnostics.

The Cynics did not rest content with claiming to be Socratics but went on to claim divine authority for their teaching. At some time, probably in the 2nd century A. D., the claim was set up that Diogenes was instructed by Apollo and commended by Zeus (Maximus Tyrius, Diss. 36, 5 & 6), and that he was divinely commissioned to " falsify the currency " in a moral sense, i. e., to change the moral standards of his time, including those recognized and accepted by Socrates (D. L. 6, 20 & 71; Julian, 6, 188; Herman Diels, Aus dem Leben des Kynikers Diogenes; E. Schwartz, Das Diogenes-Orakel als Nachbildung des Sokrates-Orakels). The oracle story probably originated in a desire to extenuate or excuse the crime which was generally believed to have caused the exile of Diogenes, but it resulted in assigning a divine mission to him. It also had the effect of restoring Diogenes as the originator of Cynicism, for it was Diogenes and not Antisthenes who received the oracle, and it abandoned the theory that the Cynics were Socratics.

The Letters of Diogenes and Crates contain a number of passages which indicate that the Cynics were sensitive on the subject of being called " dogs." In the 29th Letter of Crates there is a passage which appears to be an attempt to put the name in a favorable light; " Because we stand our ground firmly against things which are not endured by others through their weakness and regard for common opinion . . . they call our philosophy Cynic, and not because at first they called us dogs." Another euphemistic explanation of the name is found in a scholium on the Categories of Aristotle (Winckelmann, Antisthenis Fragmenta), in which it is stated that the Cynics took this name because dogs have a number of fine qualities which philosophers may emulate.

The following is still another; " He (Antisthenes) used to converse in the gymnasium of Cynosarges at no great distance from the gates, and some think that the Cynic school derived its name from Cynosarges. Antisthenes himself too was nicknamed 'Απλοκύων " (D. L. 6, 13). The first and last parts of this passage do not appear to fit together; the first part seems to be an attempt to clear the Cynic sect of the odium of taking its name from dogs,

while the last part appears to accept the dog derivation and tries to show Antisthenes' connection with the Cynics by saying that he too was called a dog. Both parts are tendency stories, but the tendencies run counter to each other. If Antisthenes was called a dog it would be more readily inferred that his followers were called dogs for that reason than because he taught at the Cynosarges gymnasium, for the derivation from Cynosarges is linguistically unsatisfactory. D. L. does not give the names of those who " think that the Cynic school derived its name from Cynosarges," and it is a reasonable inference that they were not early, numerous or conspicuous as authorities. It does not appear from his account that the story was widely accepted, and he rejects it himself; his own opinion is expressed in the following; " Some schools take their names from cities, . . . others from localities, . . . others again from derisive nicknames, as the Cynics " (1, 17).

In view of the fact that this Cynosarges derivation does not appear to have been accepted by any writer before Suidas it is not easy to account for its popularity with modern authors. Von Fritz suggests that there may be an attempt through the Cynosarges story to form an analogy with the Academics and Stoics, which both took their names from the location of their schools (Quellenuntersuchungen p. 47). But the analogy does not hold, because the traditions of Diogenes and Crates do not connect either of them with the Cynosarges gymnasium. The Cynics never had any center of instruction nor any need of one. They were roving beggars and their extreme individualism prevented them from having any organization or any regular meeting place. The Cynosarges gymnasium seems to be brought into the tradition only for the purpose of this derivation. We have no information from any other source that Antisthenes ever taught at the Cynosarges. We learn from Aristotle that the followers of Antisthenes were called " Antistheneans " (Metaph. 1043b24); if Diogenes had been one of them he would probably have had this designation. If they were also called dogs or Cynics others besides Diogenes would have been so called; and if Antisthenes had taught Cynicism others of his followers would have been Cynics.

Ἀπλοκύων has a prefix which seems intended to distinguish Antisthenes from Diogenes, who was the original Dog. It is unusual for a teacher to derive an appellation from one of his pupils. Aristotle calls Diogenes simply "The Dog" (Rhetoric 3, 10, 1411a24) without making use of his name, which indicates that there was only one person known as "The Dog." Von Fritz discusses the Cynosarges story at some length and concludes, "It is manifest that the name of the Cynic sect cannot have been taken from Antisthenes" (Quellen-untersuchungen p. 49).

The opinion generally accepted in antiquity is stated by Philo: "The name of dog is beyond all question a homonym, inasmuch as it comprehends many dissimilar things. . . . For there is a terrestrial barking animal called a dog; there is also a marine monster with the same name; there is also the star in heaven. . . . Moreover, there were the philosophers who came from the Cynic school" (About the Planting of Noah). The reason is bluntly stated by Philodemus, "It pleases these dreadful men to adopt the life of the dogs" (On the Stoics). Here he is describing the Cynics.

The teachings of the Stoics contained a large Socratic element and there is reason, on this account, to class them as Socratics. But this Socratic element was probably obtained directly from the Academy and from the writings of Plato, Xenophon and Antisthenes, though their jealousy of the Academy prevented their admitting this. Zeno is said to have read the Memorabilia of Xenophon (D. L. 7, 2-3) and to have been acquainted with the writings of Antisthenes (D. L. 7, 19). He rejected the Cynic shamelessness (D. L. 7, 3) and later Stoics repudiated the writings attributed to Diogenes (Philodemus; Julian 7, 212; D. L. 6, 73). There appears to have been in Stoicism a progressive elimination of the objectionable features of Cynicism and a corresponding assimilation of Socratic elements. Windelband says that the Stoa "had both in his (Zeno's) time and in that of his successor Cleanthes more likeness to Cynicism than in the time of its third head, Chrysippus" (Hist. of Phil., p. 159).*

* Vide infra, p. 126.

Cicero says: " Though Zeno the Cittiaean, a stranger and an inconsiderable coiner of words, appears to have insinuated himself into the old philosophy; still the prevalence of this opinion is due to the authority of Plato, who often makes use of the expression, ' that nothing but virtue can be entitled to the name of good,' agreeably to what Socrates says in Plato's Gorgias " (Tusc. Disp. 5, 12). Cicero says also: " These subjects were discussed in this city first by Socrates, and from Socrates they got entrance into the Academy. Nor was there any doubt that all hope of living well and also happily was placed in virtue; and when Zeno had learnt this from our school, he began to express himself on the same subject in another manner, as lawyers do in trials " (De Finibus 5, 29). But Cicero did not see any trace of Socratic teaching in Cynicism, which he totally rejected (De Officiis 1, 41). Zeno is said to have attended lectures of Xenocrates and Polemo (D. L. 7, 2). That Zeno obtained his Socratic teaching by borrowing from the Academy is indicated also by the following: " Polemo is said to have addressed him thus: ' You slip in, Zeno, by the garden door—I'm quite aware of it—you filch my doctrines and give them a Phoenician make-up ' " (D. L. 7, 25). Polemo followed Xenocrates as the head of the Academy; the Cynic background of Zeno's teaching is here represented as appearing foreign to him. The Stoics, like the Cynics, talked of " the law of nature " but they interpreted this law differently; " They (Stoics) say that justice, as well as law and right reason, exists by nature and not by convention " (D. L. 7, 128; Epictetus 2, 10).

The biography of Antisthenes by D. L. is for the most part a collection of trivial gossip and tendency stories intended to strengthen the chain of succession of the Cynics and Stoics from Socrates. P. Natorp calls the contents of D. L. 6, 9-10 " unworthy of belief " (Pauly-Wissowa, Real Enc., Vol. 1, p. 2539), and he might well have extended the application of this remark. " From Socrates he (Antisthenes) learned his hardihood, emulating his apathy, and thus he inaugurated the Cynic way of life " (D. L. 6, 2). This is a tendency story which overshoots its mark by making Socrates a teacher of Cynicism and assigning to Antis-

thenes the role ordinarily given to Diogenes. It is inconsistent both with the Cynic tradition (Dio Chrysostom 8, 2-4; Stobaeus, Flor. 1, 13, 19) and with available evidence which shows that Antisthenes did not lead the Cynic life (Xen. Banq. 4, 40). This story is useful on account of its obvious tendency and its obvious falsity. It should serve to put us on our guard against stories of unknown date and origin and having a similar tendency.

Adolf Mueller is aware of the difference between the life and opinions of Antisthenes and those of the Cynics, nevertheless he calls Antisthenes the leader and originator of the Cynic sect (De Antisthenis Cynici Vita et Scriptis). As its title indicates, his treatise is based on the presupposition that Antisthenes was a Cynic. Mueller says that Antisthenes was a " nothus " or resident of Athens without the rights and privileges of citizenship because his mother was a Thracian (D. L. 6, 1). Mueller imagines that this circumstance had great influence upon the manners of Antisthenes and that it increased the severity and moroseness (severitatem morositatemque) which nature had implanted in him (p. 4). We are led to infer that the Cynic philosophy was evolved from this severity and moroseness. But Antisthenes was called Ἀθηναῖος (D. L., Suidas, etc.) and we find no statement in antiquity that he was not a citizen. If he was not a citizen by birth he may have been given citizenship on account of his service in the army or have gained it through the influence of his friends; his friendship with the wealthy and influential Callias would have made this easy. This is the probable meaning of the following; " Being reproached because his parents were not both freeborn, ' Nor were they both wrestlers,' said he, ' But yet I am a wrestler ' " (D. L. 6, 4). Xenophon makes it clear that Antisthenes was not under any social disadvantage, also that he was not severe and morose in his disposition (Banquet 4, 58-61; cf. D. L. 6, 14). Mueller attaches to undated and uncredited matter of D. L. a weight equal or even greater than that which he gives to the evidence of Xenophon.

H. von Arnim (Dio von Prusa, pp. 32-36) bases his conception of Antisthenes on a passage of D. L. (6, 11) of unknown date

and origin and on supposed references to Antisthenes in the writings of Plato and Isocrates. From these he deduces a feud not only between Antisthenes and Plato but also between Antisthenes and Isocrates; he makes Antisthenes not the most agreeable and conciliatory of the Socratics but the most ill-natured and quarrelsome. The name of Isocrates appears in the titles of two of the writings of Antisthenes (D. L. 6, 15) and it is not unlikely that there was a controversy, but we have no reason for supposing that it was an ill-humored one. In regard to the supposed allusions to Antisthenes in the writings of Isocrates, it would appear that Isocrates was as free to use the name of Antisthenes as Antisthenes was to use his.* The forced interpretations which make these allusions refer to Antisthenes are based on misconception of his character.

F. Duemmler (Antisthenica) imagines that the 13th Discourse of Dio Chrysostom was taken from the writings of Antisthenes and, since this Discourse contains Cynic ideas, he connects Antisthenes in this way with Cynicism (p. 8). But even if this Discourse is drawn in part from Antisthenes, the Cynic ideas which it contains may have come from other sources; Dio was interested in Cynicism, though he was not himself a Cynic. Duemmler interprets the following; " Antisthenes gave the impulse to the apathy of Diogenes, the self-control of Crates and the hardihood of Zeno, himself laying the foundation of their state (πολιτείᾳ)" (D. L. 6, 15), to mean that the Republics of Diogenes and Zeno reflected the political teaching of Antisthenes. This passage is a tendency story of unknown date and origin. The Republics of Diogenes and Zeno included the community of women and children (D. L. 7, 4, 33, 131; Philodemus, On the Stoics), while the following passage from Aristotle, written after the death of Antisthenes, shows that this could not have come from him; " Other constitutions have been proposed; some by private persons, others by philosophers and statesmen, which all come nearer to established or existing ones than either of Plato's. No one else has introduced such novelties as the community of women and children, or public tables for women " (Politica 1266a30).

* Vide supra, p. 56.

DIOGENES OF SINOPE

Sinope was an ancient colony from Miletus (Xen. Anab. 6, 1, 15; Strabo 12, 545-546). It was subject to the rule of the kings of Persia from the destruction of Miletus (495 B. C.) to the Conquest of Alexander (331 B. C.). Diogenes was probably a Greek of Milesian stock and the Milesians possessed an ancient civilization. The early Milesian philosophers, Thales, Anaximander and Anaximenes, were distinguished for originality, audacity and freedom from superstition.

Speaking of Ephesian Heracliteans, a people of the same Ionian stock with the Milesians, Plato represents Theodorus as saying; "Disciples! My good sir, they have none; men of their sort are not one another's disciples, but they grow up at their own sweet will, and get their inspiration anywhere, each of them saying of his neighbor that he knows nothing" (Theaetetus 180). Dio Chrysostom represents Diogenes as saying that "he was the only independent man in the world and that nobody else had any comprehension of his own highest happiness" (6, 34).

Diogenes is uniformly represented as an exile from Sinope, and the only accounts which we have of the circumstances of his exile state that it was in consequence of an adulteration of the currency there (D. L. 6, 20 & 56). Diocles states that the adulteration was done not by Diogenes but by his father, but Diocles appears from other quotations from him by D. L. to be an apologist for the Cynics and a builder of the Antisthenes—Diogenes—Crates chain of succession; he may have been influenced by a desire to shield the reputation of a Cynic saint and, since he belonged to the 1st century B. C., the value of his statement depends upon the authority from which it was taken. The statement of Eubulides that it was Diogenes who adulterated the currency seems the most probable and to accord best with the body of the Diogenes tradition, but Eubulides is otherwise unknown and we cannot evaluate his testimony. The story of the oracle agrees with that of Eubulides

in regard to Diogenes adulterating the currency but appears to be an effort to excuse or extenuate the crime.

The statement of Diocles that " his father was entrusted with the money of the state " seems to accord with the statement that " his father entrusted him with the money and that he debased it " and also with the results of recent investigations. A study has been made of the coins recovered from ancient Sinope and nine coins have been found, apparently minted later than 362 B. C., bearing the letters IKEΣIO. The name of the father of Diogenes is said to be Ἱκεσίας. There seems to be a probability that the father of Diogenes was in charge of the coinage of Sinope during a period subsequent to 362 B. C. Of the coins which appeared at Sinope subsequent to 350 B. C. a large proportion are found to be of base metal. An attempt was apparently made at some time subsequent to 350 B. C. to remove the bad coins from circulation, for many of them are defaced by being cut as though with a chisel.

Attention has been called to the fact that the word παραχάραξις used by D. L. in regard to Diogenes and his father, can be translated " cutting " or " defacing " and, consequently, that the activities of Diogenes and his father may have been in the direction of protecting the currency from adulteration (D. R. Dudley, A History of Cynicism, pp. 21 & 54). But it seems strange that the discovery of this defense should have been delayed more than two thousand years, especially since the Cynic and Stoic sects were both interested in exalting Diogenes as an early leader or progenitor. It seems to involve the supposition that the Greeks did not understand their own language. It is not easy to account for Diogenes being severely punished for so praiseworthy an act; if he did not make the bad coins, he could scarcely have obtained possession of them without buying them, and if Diogenes exchanged good money for bad with the object of removing the bad coins from circulation, it was a patriotic act which does not accord with any information which we have of him.

D. L. says that Diogenes stated in a book written by him that he had changed the currency (6, 20), but this has been explained with the theory that Diogenes used the expression as a figure of

speech, meaning that he had changed customs or conventionalities (Herman Diels, Aus dem Leben des Kynikers Diogenes). This theory is unsatisfactory because it does not account for the exile of Diogenes, unless it is understood that the figurative language was based on a prior fact. It leads us to wonder why he should have used language so obscure that no one understood it; the expression in its figurative sense does not seem especially applicable to the sayings and doings of Diogenes of which we have accounts, and it is not one which a teacher would be likely to use in reference to his work. The examples which we have of the figurative use of the expression " falsify the currency " are quite late (D. L. 6, 71; Julian 6, 188); it seems more probable that the figurative sense of the expression was a late development than that the story of Diogenes adulterating the currency grew out of the use of the figurative expression.

We find elsewhere accounts of Diogenes being reproached for having falsified the currency and as admitting it (D. L. 6, 56). We do not find in antiquity any denial that Diogenes or his father adulterated or falsified the currency, nor any statement that this act was not a crime nor that Diogenes' exile was unjust. Disrepute is mentioned as one of his hardships (Dio Chrysostom 8, 16; Ibid. 9, 12); and we can readily suppose that a man driven out of Sinope for counterfeiting money would have been connected with disrepute. The numerous attempts which have been made to palliate or deny this crime show the persistency of the effort to paint Diogenes in favorable colors; unfortunately these attempts have taken different directions and tend rather to destroy than to support one another.

The story of the oracle seems to have made its appearance about the middle of the 2nd century A. D., for the writers of the 1st century A. D. and those prior to them seem to know nothing of it. Dio Chrysostom, writing at the beginning of the 2nd century A. D., knows nothing of the oracle and represents Diogenes as condemning the practice of consulting oracles (10th Disc.). The oracle story is inconsistent with the claim that Diogenes was a disciple of Antisthenes and is virtually a repudiation of the Cynic

claim of succession from Socrates, for it gives Diogenes a divine mission to overthrow the standards of conduct accepted by Socrates (Julian 6, 188; Ibid. 7, 212; Maximus Tyrius, 36, 5-6).

The discovery that bad coins appeared at Sinope about 350 B. C. seems to show that Diogenes came to Greece after that date. According to the dates ordinarily accepted he was then about sixty years old. This accords with the statement that his father "entrusted him with the money," for his father must have been very old at that time. The date ordinarily accepted for the death of Antisthenes is 366 B. C., about twenty years before the arrival of Diogenes in Greece. This tends to show that Diogenes never saw Antisthenes and probably had no contacts with Plato or Demosthenes. Since Sinope and Athens each had many ships and the Peiraeus was a seaport readily accessible from Sinope, the story that Diogenes came first to Athens (Dio Chrysostom 8, 1; Ibid. 64, 18) is not an improbable one, though we find him soon afterwards in Corinth.

The story that Diogenes had a slave when he arrived in Greece is mentioned by Teles (Stobaeus, Flor. 3, 97, 31), and is consequently one of the oldest and best authenticated stories of Diogenes. It seems probable that this slave was implicated in the crime and that both he and Diogenes were fugitives from justice; that he had no affection for Diogenes is shown by his desertion soon after reaching Greece (Stobaeus, Flor. 3, 97, 31; D. L. 6, 55; Seneca, On Peace of Mind 8; Ibid. Of a Happy Life 15; Aelian, V. H. 13, 28). The relations between Diogenes and Manes may be contrasted with those between Zeno and his servant Persaeus, who became Zeno's disciple, companion, follower and biographer (D. L. 7, 6, 13, 36).

The money which he brought with him from Sinope must have soon become depleted and he was compelled to take account of his needs and of ways in which he could reduce his expenses. He could not go back to Sinope, and as his family estate was probably confiscated he could not expect support from that source. "Through watching a mouse running about, says Theophrastus in the Megarian dialogue, not looking for a place to lie down in,

not afraid of the dark, not seeking any of the things which are considered to be dainties, he discovered the means of adapting himself to circumstances" (D. L. 6, 22). Theophrastus was a contemporary of Diogenes; he succeeded Aristotle at the Lyceum at about the time Diogenes is said to have died. He may have had this story at second or third hand from Diogenes himself, and we may have here Diogenes' own account of the circumstances under which he adopted his form of life. According to this account it was due to the force of circumstances and to his own reflections on the conduct of a mouse. We note here the characteristic Cynic turning to the conduct of lower animals for guidance.

But economy did not completely solve his problem; it was necessary also to provide an income. From the facts that Diogenes' father seems to have been a prominent man at Sinope and that Diogenes had a slave when he came to Greece it seems probable that Diogenes had good early advantages. The standards of education in the Ionion cities seem to have been high, for most of the teachers who came to Athens were from Ionian cities. The stories of Diogenes represent him as being ready with quotations and paraphrases from Homer and other poets. The 34th Letter of Diogenes represents him as writing; "I learned these lessons, not from Antisthenes first, but from gods and heroes and from those who turned Greece toward wisdom, from Homer and the tragedy writers." He could scarcely have maintained his pose as a "wise man" without the advantage of an education, especially in Greek literature. An ignorant man could not pose as a philosopher in Athens in the 4th century B. C., though the Cynic wave of anti-intellectualism made this practicable later (cf. Lucian, The Runaways). With the education and business experience which Diogenes probably possessed he could, no doubt, have obtained employment which would have enabled him to live in comfort; though he was probably barred from the vocation for which he was best fitted by experience, for no banker would be willing to employ a reputed counterfeiter. We note that Antisthenes intended to seek employment in case he lost the income derived from his property (Xenophon, Banquet 4, 40).

Fronto says, " Diogenes the Cynic not only earned no money but took no care of what he had " (Ambr. 398). Lactantius says; " Diogenes, with a multitude of his dogs (canum), who professed that high and complete virtue—the contempt of all possessions—preferred to beg for food rather than gain it by honorable labor or to have anything of his own " (Instit. Epit. 34). The conduct of Cleanthes the Stoic in similar circumstances gives us a basis of comparison; " He arrived in Athens, as some people say, with four drachmas only, and meeting with Zeno he studied philosophy right nobly . . . He was renowned for his industry, being indeed driven by extreme poverty to work for a living. Thus, while by night he used to draw water in gardens, by day he exercised himself in arguments; hence the nick-name Phreantles or Well-lifter was given him " (D. L. 7, 168; cf. Ibid. 7, 169-170). Cleanthes appears to have been a healthy minded man who was unwilling to accept aid from others without making a return in labor. He sought for instruction and employment; we have no account of Diogenes seeking employment and the stories of his seeking instruction from Antisthenes are probably fabulous.

It was probably due to natural indolence and a snobbish disinclination to lose caste that Diogenes did not obtain employment. The Athenians drew a line of social discrimination against persons engaged in trade, especially retail, or hand labor (Plato, Laws 11, 919; Aristotle, Politica 1, 11-13). Sinope was a commercial city without important military or political traditions; in the 1st Letter of Diogenes he is represented as writing to the people of Sinope, " You have condemned me to exile, I condemn you to stay. You will therefore dwell in Sinope and I in Athens; that is, you with merchants and I with Solon and with those who freed Greece from the Medes." It is probable that the aristocracy of Sinope was based on wealth and the father of Diogenes may have belonged to the highest social rank of his city; but if Diogenes, on arriving in Athens, had introduced himself as a money changer, or had gone into any trade or commercial occupation, he would have been classed with tavern-keepers, hucksters and barbers. That he maintained his social rank is indicated by the following.

" Being reproached with drinking in a tavern, ' Well,' said he (Diogenes), ' I also get my hair cut in a barber's shop ' " (D. L. 6, 66). He availed himself of the services of tavern-keepers and barbers but did not accept them as equals. " We may often turn the edge of fortune when things turn out not as we wish; Diogenes was driven into exile, but it was not so bad for him, for his exile made him turn philosopher " (Plutarch, On Contentedness of Mind 6). He seems to have decided to become a professional " wise man," after the manner of the philosophers of India, and demand contributions from the public for his support. By taking this course he retained and even advanced his social rank. " Musonius says that . . . Diogenes from having been a private person became a philosopher by being exiled; for instead of remaining in Sinope, he spent his life in Hellas and carried out in practice the virtues of the philosophers " (Stobaeus, Flor. 2, 40, 9). " When some one reproached him (Diogenes) with his exile, his reply was, ' Nay, it was through that, you miserable fellow, that I came to be a philosopher ' " (D. L. 6, 49).

He demanded contributions as a right, in recognition of his status as a " wise man." " Being short of money, he (Diogenes) told his friends that he applied to them not for alms, but for repayment of his due " (D. L. 6, 46). " He (Diogenes) used also to reason thus; ' All things belong to the gods. The wise are friends of the gods, and friends hold things in common. Therefore all things belong to the wise ' " (D. L. 6, 37; cf. D. L. 6, 71; 10th Letter of Diogenes; 2nd, 26th & 27th Letters of Crates; Plutarch, The Doctrine of Epicurus). It appears that Diogenes maintained an attitude of superiority towards those from whom he begged, for the 34th Letter represents him as writing; " If now I reconcile you, mother, by showing you the advantages I gain by wearing the worn cloak and bearing the wallet and staff and begging bread from my inferiors, I thank the gods."

Since Diogenes posed as a " wise man " it was necessary for him to define his attitude toward the Greek philosophers. If he had expressed admiration for any of them he would have had to abate his claim of being wise; and if he became the disciple of

another man, especially of a modest man who did not claim to be wise, his own pretensions would have fallen to the ground. He was unable to meet the Greek philosophers and scientists on their own ground and he adopted what was, for him, the only safe and consistent plan; he ridiculed and denounced all of them. " He was great at pouring scorn on his contemporaries. The school of Euclides he called bilious, and Plato's lectures waste of time " (D. L. 6, 24). If Diogenes thought Plato's lectures a waste of time, this gives us a means of gauging his own attainments; if he could not understand them they would have been a waste of time for him. Tiberianus (fl. 335 A. D.) said that Diogenes found in the writings of Plato " nothing more than a golden tongue " (Fulgentius, Vergiliana Continentia 154). Fronto says; " No one could be fuller in exposition than Zeno, more captious in argument than Socrates, more ready than Diogenes at denunciation . . . What, pray, would your wisest of men themselves do, if called away from their own individual habits and principles—Socrates from arguing, Zeno from disputing, Diogenes from finding fault " (Vat. 4). " God counselled Socrates to take the office of examining and confuting men, Diogenes the office of rebuking men in a kingly manner and Zeno that of instructing men and laying down doctrines " (Epictetus 3, 21, 19). If he had seen Antisthenes it is likely that he would have classed him as a sophist, and Dio Chrysostom says; " It was against the sophists, who wanted to be looked up to and thought they knew more than other men, that he railed in particular " (6, 21). The stories of conversations between Plato and Diogenes always represent them as in opposition to one another. " As Plato was conversing about ideas and using the nouns ' tablehood ' and ' cuphood,' he (Diogenes) said, ' Table and cup I see; but your tablehood and cuphood, Plato, I can in nowise see.' ' That's readily accounted for,' said Plato, ' for you have the eyes to see the visible table and cup, but not the understanding by which ideal tablehood and cuphood are discerned ' " (D. L. 6, 53). If Diogenes was unable to grasp the conception of generalization, he could not comprehend the nature of either inductive or deductive reasoning. His attitude toward

science is expressed by the following; " When some one was discoursing on celestial phenomena; ' How many days,' asked Diogenes, ' were you in coming from the sky? ' " (D. L. 6, 39; Letter No. 38). His estimate of art is expressed as follows; " Very valuable things, said he (Diogenes), were bartered for things of no value, and vice versa. At all events, a statue fetches three thousand drachmas, while a quart of barley flour is sold for two copper pieces " (D. L. 6, 35). A statue by Phidias had no value to a Cynic. His criticisms were wholly destructive; he seems to have had no system of education or plan of government in view. The instruction which he is represented by Eubulus as giving to the sons of Xeniades (D. L. 6, 30-31) is not Cynic; the boys are taught slavery to convention, literature and history; they are not taught the Cynic virtues—poverty, hardihood, apathy and indifference.

Many of the stories of Diogenes represent him as doing unusual things. " To some persons who were ridiculing him for walking backward on a porch, Diogenes said, ' While you are criticising the way I walk, you are going backward in your way of living ' " (Stobaeus, Flor. 1, 4, 84). " He was going into a theater, meeting face to face those who were coming out, and being asked why, ' This,' he said, ' is what I practise doing all my life ' " (D. L. 6, 64). " Being reproached for eating in the market place, ' Well, it was in the market-place,' he said, ' that I felt hungry ' " (D. L. 6, 58). There appears to be something theatrical in these acts. They have the appearance of attempts to attract notice, to cause comment and perhaps to give him an opportunity to explain that he was a " wise man " and as such entitled to contributions. The following seems to express this point of view; " Plato, when Diogenes asked him to eat in the market-place, said, ' How pleasing your simplicity would be, if it was not a sham ' " (Gnomologium Vaticanum 445). These doings of Diogenes are sometimes taken as illustrations of his mission to " falsify the currency "; but this mission was probably discovered only about four hundred years after his death. We cannot see what good could be expected to result from them and there were probably persons who lived nearer to his time who were impressed in the same way; " One of

the Spartans saw Diogenes the Cynic holding his arms around a bronze statue in very cold weather and asked Diogenes if he were cold and when Diogenes said 'No,' the other said, 'What great thing are you doing then?'" (Plutarch, Sayings of the Spartans 233, 16). Montaigne says; "A man mocked Diogenes, who in the depth of winter and stark naked went hugging an image of snow for a trial of his patience; meeting him in this condition, 'Art thou not very cold?' said he; 'Not at all,' replied Diogenes. 'Why then,' said the other, 'What great and exemplary thing canst thou think that thou dost in embracing the snow?' A man, to take a true measure of constancy, must necessarily know what suffering is" (Essays, Chap. 10, On managing the will).

Some of the eccentric acts of Diogenes appear ascetic and have gained for him the reputation of being an ascetic. Of this sort were his embracing the cold statue, rolling in his earthenware jar over hot sand (D. L. 6, 23) and walking barefoot on snow (D. L. 6, 34) but it seems more probable that these things also were done to attract attention. A Cynic had no motive for asceticism; ascetics are always idealists and the Cynics were gross materialists. Diogenes is not uniformly represented as an ascetic. "Being asked if the wise eat cakes, 'Yes,' he said, 'cakes of all kinds, just like other men'" (D. L. 6, 56; cf. Gnomologium Vaticanum 188). "Diogenes, receiving a clean loaf of bread, threw wheat out of his wallet, saying, 'Friend, make way for the rulers'" (Stobaeus, Flor. 1, 17, 16; cf. D. L. 6, 55). This story seems to indicate that Diogenes was not averse to living as well as his resources admitted.

His conception of freedom seems to have included license to commit acts ordinarily classed as immoral. "Things that were costly or demanded constant attention and worry he rejected and showed to be injurious to those who used them, but whatever could readily and without effort help the body to withstand the winter's cold or hunger or to satisfy some other appetite of the body he would never forego" (Dio Chrysostom 6, 30). This indicates that Diogenes did not object to comfort, pleasure or self-indulgence in themselves, but only to the labor and expense involved in obtaining them.

Some of the eccentric acts attributed to Diogenes were of an indecent or shocking character. Walter Savage Landor, a Diogenes-apologist, says; " Among his (Diogenes') hearers was Phocion; a fact which alone would set aside the tale of his adversaries, a thousand times repeated by their readers, about his public indulgence in certain immoralities which no magistrate would tolerate " (Imaginary Conversations, Diogenes and Plato, Note). The story that Phocian was a hearer of Diogenes (D. L. 6, 76) is of unknown date and origin and is discredited by its obvious tendency. Our chief sources of information in regard to Diogenes' public indecencies are D. L., Dio Chrysostom and Julian, none of whom can be regarded as his adversaries. Shamelessness was a part of the Cynic tradition and it seems to have originated with Diogenes. But, as Landor says, there is difficulty in believing that these indecencies would be tolerated by the Athenians and they may have been the cause of his leaving Athens. In the 20th Letter of Diogenes it is stated that he was beaten by Athenians and this is mentioned also by D. L. (6, 33). The 27th Letter of Diogenes states that he was prohibited from entering Sparta.

Dio Chrysostom says; " After Antisthenes' death he moved to Corinth since he considered none of the others worth associating with " (8, 4). This may be taken as a reason for no longer desiring to remain in Athens but it does not explain why he went to Corinth. But this and other passages show that Dio Chrysostom regarded Diogenes as a resident of Corinth, as did also Julian (7, 212-213) and Lucian (Quomodo historia conscribenda sit). Corinth in the 4th century B. C. was associated with lax morals and loose manners. Wilamowitz says, " Naturally Diogenes goes to Corinth; the capuchin belongs in the city of sin " (Aristoteles und Athen, Vol. 2, p. 24). But it is probable that Diogenes did not become a capuchin for a century or more after his death. Dio Chrysostom says; " For he observed that large numbers gathered at Corinth on account of the harbors and the hetairae, and because the city was situated as it were at the cross-roads of Greece. Accordingly, just as the good physician should go and offer his services where the sick are most numerous, so, said he, the man of

wisdom should take up his abode where fools are thickest in order to convict them of their folly and reprove them" (8, 5). But we have no account of Diogenes curing any one there and we find no mention of any Cynic disciple of Diogenes at Corinth.

The romances of Menippus and Eubulus of the capture of Diogenes by pirates and his being sold as a slave (D. L. 6, 29-32) probably have no basis in fact. However, the Menippus story seems to have a certain biographical value in presenting a picture—probably rather exaggerated than false—of the character of Diogenes; this story appears also in the 34th Letter of Crates and in Philo, Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit 18. Here he is presented as a sturdy, self-assertive, irrepressible talker who fits in very well with a majority of the Diogenes stories. The Eubulus story does not adhere to the character of Diogenes as it is represented elsewhere and does not show him as a Cynic; its only biographical value is in supporting the evidence that Diogenes was a resident of Corinth,—for the author, in writing a sequel to the Menippus story, seems to understand that Diogenes must be gotten back to Corinth. The Menippus story as it appears in the 34th Letter of Crates leaves Diogenes with the pirates.

"Eubulus relates that he grew old in the house of Xeniades, and when he died was buried by his sons. There Xeniades once asked him how he wished to be buried. To which he replied, 'On my face.' 'Why?' inquired the other. 'Because,' he said, 'after a little time down will be converted into up.' This because the Macedonians had now got the supremacy, that is, had risen high from a humble position" (D. L. 6, 31-32). There appears to be an anachronism here, for the story reflects the atmosphere of a period about thirty years prior to the date ordinarily accepted for the death of Diogenes; but as the whole story of Eubulus is generally regarded as a romance, the anachronism is not surprising. The above passage expresses the jealousy and apprehension of the Macedonians which was generally felt in Greece at the time Diogenes probably came to Greece.

There is but one event in the life of Diogenes which can be connected with a definite date; this is his meeting with Alexander.

Alexander succeeded Philip as king of Macedonia at the age of twenty. He determined to carry out his father's plan of invading Asia and called representatives from the Greek states to meet him at the Isthmus to make preparations for the expedition. These representatives acceded to Alexander's demands for men, money and ships because they were afraid to refuse. They were fearful that their own cities might incur the fate of Olynthus and Thebes and they may have entertained hopes that Alexander would be killed and the Macedonian army destroyed in Asia.

While at the Isthmus it is more than probable that Alexander visited Corinth, which was only six miles distant. At Corinth he probably went to the Craneum, a cypress grove overlooking the harbor. Here his attention may have been called to Diogenes as an odd character having some pretensions of being a wise man and he may have exchanged some words with him. Doubt of this meeting has been expressed by some modern authors, but it seems to be the best authenticated event in the life of Diogenes as well as the most important. It seems to explain his subsequent notoriety, especially at Athens, and to form the basis and starting point of the Diogenes Legend. The objections which have been raised to the stories of the meeting are, (1) that they represent the meeting as taking place at Athens and Alexander never visited Athens, and (2) that they represent Alexander as the conqueror, whereas he did not return to Greece after his invasion of Asia. But all of the versions of the meeting do not contain these inconsistencies, and those which do can be understood as perversions of older stories. There seems to have been a tendency of the Diogenes stories to drift to an Athenian setting, and the representation of Alexander as the conqueror was a natural accretion, having the object of heightening the dramatic effect of the story.

We have but little information of Diogenes prior to his meeting with Alexander, but in regard to this meeting we are embarrassed by multiplicity and diversity. However, the following accounts agree fairly well with one another. " When he was sunning himself in the Craneum, Alexander came and stood over him and said, ' Ask of me any boon you like.' To which he replied, ' Stand

out of my light'" (D. L. 6, 38). "But Diogenes . . . like a Cynic, when Alexander asked him if he wanted anything: 'Just at present,' said he, 'I wish that you would stand a little out of the line between me and the sun,' for Alexander was hindering him from sunning himself" (Cicero, Tusc. Disp. 5, 32). "He (Alexander) is said to have expressed surprise at Diogenes of Sinope, when he found Diogenes once on the Isthmus lying in the sun. He and his body guard and his infantry companions halted, and he asked if Diogenes had need of anything. But he merely answered that he needed nothing else, but bade him and his followers stand out of his sunlight" (Arrian, Anabasis 7, 2, 1-2). "Alexander sought the name 'unconquered,' but he was unable to overcome the moderation of Diogenes the Cynic. He came to Diogenes, who was lying on the ground, a man with a base appellation but of a rugged appearance, and said that if there was anything he wished given him, he might name it. 'Other things later,' replied Diogenes, 'but in the meantime I wish that you would not obstruct my sunshine'" (Valerius Maximus 4, 3, Ext. 4).

Dio Chrysostom describes the meeting as taking place in the Craneum at Corinth and before the expedition to Asia; he represents Diogenes as being alone, sitting on the ground and having no occupation other than sunning himself; Diogenes orders Alexander to stand out of his sunshine (4th Disc. 14-15.) Plutarch also locates the meeting at the Craneum in Corinth and before the expedition; Alexander finds Diogenes stretched out on the ground in the sunshine and asks him if he wanted anything, to which Diogenes replies, "Yes, I would have you stand from between me and the sun" (Lives, Alexander 14). Plutarch combines this story with another which we find in D. L. 6, 32; "Alexander is reported to have said, 'Had I not been Alexander, I should have liked to be Diogenes'." This last story also appears in the 33rd Letter of Diogenes, which describes the meeting as taking place in a theater, probably in Athens.

While the meeting of Alexander and Diogenes probably took place and formed a turning point in the life of Diogenes, it is

likely that the popular account of the conversation was an afterthought of Diogenes, invented to place himself in a heroic role. The Greeks of the 4th century B. C. did not class the Macedonians as Hellenes; they regarded them as fierce northern barbarians and the chief menace to their own liberties. The feelings against the Macdonians ran highest among the Athenians, who had heard the fiery Olynthiacs and Philippics of Demosthenes. Attica lay in the path of the victorious Macedonian army and the Athenians had been allies of the Thebans and had been beaten by the Macedonians at Chaeroneia. This feeling of the Athenians is shown by the fact that Aristotle fled from Athens at the death of Alexander; his life was in danger because he had been associated with Alexander. Thus it came about that Diogenes, who was a resident of Corinth, became a hero at Athens because he was believed to have administered a snub to Alexander. The story of the meeting of Alexander and Diogenes was in antiquity by far the most popular of the Diogenes stories. Gregory Nazianzen indicates that it was dramatized, for he speaks of "The wordiness of Diogenes, who lived in an earthen jar, where he received as guests the tyrants of the tragedies and bade them stand aside" (Or. 4, Contra Julianum 1, 72).

Looking at the incident from this interval of time and space, the famous reply of Diogenes does not appear one which a wise and kindly man who was free from prejudice would have made, or one of which his followers had reason to be proud. Alexander was a spirited intelligent boy, loaded with responsibility and engaged in a great undertaking. There was an opportunity here to give, or at least to offer, him some useful and much needed advice; this seems to have been realized by Dio Chrysostom and the writer of the 33rd Letter of Diogenes, for both represent Diogenes as giving Alexander advice and instruction. If Diogenes had been a man who prided himself on supporting himself by his own labor, his reply to Alexander could be ascribed to bad manners; since he begged and received aid from others his reply shows discrimination, prejudice and ill-nature. It will be noted that these stories show Diogenes as without occupation and without companions and as spending his time dozing in the sunshine.

The date of Alexander's visit to the Isthmus was 336 B. C. This was the only occasion on which he could have met Diogenes and, since this meeting was universally believed to have taken place, it is an additional proof that Diogenes was a resident of Corinth. According to the generally accepted chronology Diogenes was at this time over seventy years old and he is said to have lived about thirteen years longer. Practically all of the information we have of Diogenes relates to this last period of his life. He seems to have been well known in Athens during this time. " He did not lean upon a staff until he grew infirm; but afterwards he would carry it everywhere, not indeed in the city, but when walking along the road with it and his wallet; so say Olympiodorus, once a magistrate at Athens, Polyeuctus the orator and Lysanias the son of Aeschro " (D. L. 6, 22-23). The citation of three witnesses is unusual, especially for D. L. Friedrich Leo says, " The first two are men who might have seen Diogenes with their own eyes, the third was a grammarian of the generation of Zenodotus and Callimachus " (Die Griechisch-Römische Biographie, p. 51; cf. Kurt von Fritz, Quellen-Untersuchungen, p. 36 f.). This passage of D. L. has the appearance of a report of the results of an inquiry; it seems to indicate that at some period, say fifty years after the death of Diogenes, there were persons who were trying to penetrate the haze of the Legend which had already enveloped his name. These persons seem to have been especially desirous of knowing whether he invariably carried a wallet and staff. The information furnished is meager and for the most part negative. It appears that he carried a wallet and staff only in circumstances under which other persons of his time would have carried them. Nothing is said of any distinctive cloak and this tends to support the statement in the 19th Letter of Crates that Diogenes " never put on the Cynic cloak." The distinctive dress and equipment of the Cynics did not, then, originate with Diogenes; it seems probable that it originated with Crates or with some later Cynic. But the passage cited (D. L. 6, 22-23) indicates that Diogenes sometimes made journeys on foot and supports the tradition that he made periodical journeys between Corinth and Athens. Dio

Chrysostom says that he spent his summers in Corinth and winters in Athens (6th Disc. 1-6; cf. Plutarch, Progress in Virtue 6).

The only contemporaneous mention of Diogenes of which we have any knowledge comes from Aristotle; "The Dog called taverns 'the messrooms of Attica'" (Rhetoric 3, 10, 1411a24). This was written at Athens about 330 B. C., six years after his meeting with Alexander, and shows that Diogenes was well known in Athens by the designation "Dog" at that time. It shows that there was no one else who was called "Dog," for otherwise the name would have been necessary; it should dispose of the story that the Cynics took their name from the Cynosarges Gymnasium, for those who followed or imitated Diogenes were naturally given the designation of their leader. The comparison made by Diogenes is between the disorderly drinkers and idlers who frequented Athenian taverns and the disciplined groups who partook of the common meals at the Spartan φειδίτια. It is a disparaging reference to Athenian customs and is in the same strain as D. L. 6, 27 and 59 and Stobaeus, Flor. 1, 13, 25, in which Diogenes is represented as comparing the Spartans with the Athenians to the discredit of the latter. It seems strange that Diogenes, the apostle of individual freedom, should have commended the regimented lives of the Spartans.

"Satyrus, the biographer of illustrious men, relates that Diogenes, to guard himself against the cold, folded his cloak double: his scrip was his pantry; and aged he carried a stick to support his feeble frame, and he was commonly called ἡμερόβιος (living from day to day), because in that very hour he begged and received food from any one" (Hieronymus, Adversus Jovianum 2, 14). This account also relates to the later years of Diogenes' life. It is presumably taken from a biography of Diogenes which was written by Satyrus at Alexandria in the latter part of the 3rd century B. C. Although written a century after the death of Diogenes, it is nevertheless the earliest biography of him of which we have any knowledge. Satyrus wrote a large number of biographies, considerable extracts from which are found in Athenaeus; they seem to be made up from current stories rather than from serious biographical

research (F. Leo, Die Griechisch-Römische Biographie, p. 118). The above extract shows the influence of the Diogenes Legend, for the doubled cloak, wallet and staff are connected with Diogenes. Here as elsewhere Diogenes is described as being without companions and without occupation other than begging.

The dates ordinarily accepted for the birth and death of Diogenes are deduced from the following: " Diogenes is said to have been nearly ninety years old when he died " (D. L. 6, 76); " Demetrius in his work ' On Men of the Same Name ' asserts that on the same day on which Alexander died in Babylon Diogenes died in Corinth " (D. L. 6, 79). Demetrius (of Magnesia) belonged to the 1st century B. C.; the value of his statement depends on the source of his information and there is room for suspicion that he or his informant may have been influenced by the frequently noted fondness for coupling the name of Diogenes with that of Alexander. The statement, " He was an old man in the 113th Olympiad," i. e., 324-321 B. C. (D. L. 6, 79), is of unknown origin but it sounds conservative. It has the appearance of avoiding statements not based on information, and since D. L. ordinarily takes his chronology from Apollodorus, this passage may have come from him; if this were known to be the case this information would be accepted as reliable. Censorinus has the following; " In this year (the 81st) of their age, Dionysius Heracleotes put an end to his life by abstaining from food and Diogenes the Cynic, on the contrary, died of over-eating and indigestion " (De Die Natali 15, 2).

D. L. says of Diogenes, " Regarding his death, there are several different accounts " (6, 76), and he relates five of them. The oldest and most popular account which has come down to us is that of Sotades of Maroneia; " Diogenes died having eaten a raw polypus " (Stobaeus, Flor. 3, 98, 9). Sotades wrote at Alexandria about 285-275 B. C. (cf. Suidas; Athenaeus 14, 620), only about a half century after the death of Diogenes. His version is followed by several other authors. " He (Diogenes) even attempted to eat meat raw but could not manage to digest it " (D. L. 6, 34). " He was seized with colic after eating an octopus raw and so met his

end" (D. L. 6, 76.) "Diogenes the Cynic died of overeating and indigestion" (Censorinus, De Die Natali 15, 2). "Diogenes the Cynic also died when his belly swelled up after he had eaten a raw polypus" (Athenaeus 8, 341). "Diogenes the Cynic made no use of fire; so that after he had swallowed a raw fish, 'This hazard,' said he, 'do I run for your sakes'" (Plutarch, Whether Water or Fire be More Useful; cf. On the Eating of Flesh). "Here is a Cynic who says that Diogenes was conceited and . . . moreover he even ridicules the eating of octopus and says that Diogenes paid a sufficient penalty for his folly and vanity in that he perished of this diet" (Julian 6, 181). "Scruple not to perform the deeds of darkness in broad daylight; select your love adventures with a view to the public entertainment; and finally, when the fancy takes you, swallow a raw cuttle-fish and die. Such are the delights of Cynicism" (Lucian, Vitarum Auctio 10). "Diogenes, who made such a parade of his independence with his tub, was seized with a bowel complaint through eating a raw polypus, and so lost his life by gluttony" (Taitian, Address to the Greeks 5, 2). Gregory Nazianzen also associates Diogenes with gluttony, probably from the same reason (Oratio 25, 7).

There are, however, other accounts of his death which are incompatible with the foregoing. An account of his being bitten by dogs so severely as to cause his death is preferred by D. L. and Suidas, though they do not state the reasons for their preference (D. L. 6, 79; Suidas, Diogenes). The Cynics commended suicide and naturally we find accounts of Diogenes, the typical Cynic, dying in this way (D. L. 76-77; Lucian, Dialogi Mortuorum 2). Hieronymus tells of his dying of a fever on the roadside while on his way to the Olympic games (Adv. Jovianum 2) and this is supported by Epictetus (Arrian 3, 22, 58). There are also a number of conflicting accounts of his dying a natural death from old age or from unassigned causes (D. L. 6, 31; D. L. 6, 52; D. L. 6, 79; Aelian, V. H. 8, 14; Cicero, Tusc. Disp. 1, 43; 1st Letter of Crates; Plutarch, Consolation to Apollonius).

Most of the stories of Diogenes' death fail to state where it occurred; but it is variously stated that he died in Corinth (D. L.

6, 79), that he died in the house of Xeniades in Corinth (D. L. 6, 31), that he died at Athens (D. L. 6, 79; Aelian, V. H. 8, 14) and that he died on the road to Olympia (Hieronymus, Adv. Jovianum 2; Epictetus 3, 22, 58). The accounts of Diogenes' instructions as to the disposition of his body are also various and discordant. He died at Athens and gave instructions that his body be thrown into the Ilissus (D. L. 6, 79; Aelian, V. H. 8, 14); he died in the house of Xeniades in Corinth and gave instructions that he be buried on his face (D. L. 6, 31); he lived alone in a house and when asked, "If you should die, who will carry you out to burial?" replied, "Whoever wants the house" (D. L. 6, 52; cf. Gnomologium Vaticanum 200); and he ordered that his body should be thrown out anywhere without being buried (D. L. 6, 79; Cicero, Tusc. Disp. 1, 43; Stobaeus, Flor. 4, 123, 11; 25th Letter of Diogenes).

It is obvious that all of these stories cannot be true. It appears that no authoritative account of the death of Diogenes was written at or near the time of its occurrence; which indicates that he was not as famous at that time as he became later. Von Fritz says; "In all probability it was known that neither the time nor the manner of the death of Diogenes was exactly known and it is therefore very probable that he did not die in any unusual manner, and precisely on this account, the freest opportunity was given for legend building" (Quellen-Untersuchungen, p. 33). The number and diversity of the stories of the death of Diogenes, as well as of his meeting with Alexander, show the popularity of stories about Diogenes and the freedom with which the imagination was used in narrating them.

H. von Arnim depicts Diogenes as a venerated teacher, meeting a group of disciples at a regular hour and at an appointed place and keeping them under instruction for courses of two or three years (Dio von Prusa, p. 36). He selects as his authorities the account of the death of Diogenes in the last part of D. L. 6, 77 and the story of Onesicritus and his sons in D. L. 6, 75-76. But we note that one of these stories represents Diogenes as teaching in Corinth and the other represents him as teaching in Athens.

The first named (D. L. 6, 77) is one of the numerous stories of the death of Diogenes and it is not the most popular or the most plausible of them. It is repeated by D. L. but is rejected by him and, so far as we know, was not accepted by any ancient author. This story seems to belong to a late stage in the development of the Diogenes Legend and was probably born of a desire to relieve him of the odium of dying from overeating and to assign him a death appropriate for a Cynic hero. Von Arnim puts Diogenes on the " long road " to happiness, which, according to the tradition, was expressly rejected by him (30th Letter of Diogenes; 13th, 16th, 20th and 21st Letters of Crates). Eduard Schwartz says that Diogenes was no teacher; " Er war kein Lehrer . . . Diogenes als Erzieher ist eine läppische Romanerfindung " (Charakterköpfe aus der antiken Literatur 2, pp. 16-20).

The story of Onesicritus and his sons (D. L. 6, 75-76) probably came from Onesicritus; it has the appearance of coming from a story-teller who would not be willing to spoil a story through lack of interesting details which could be supplied from the imagination; and we learn from Strabo and Arrian that Onesicritus was a story-teller of that kind. Strabo says, " All the followers of Alexander preferred to accept the marvellous rather than the true; Onesicritus seems to surpass all those followers of his in the telling of prodigies " (Geog. 15, 1, 28). Arrian says; " Nearchus he (Alexander) appointed admiral of all the fleet, and the pilot of his own vessel was Onesicritus, who in the history he wrote of Alexander told this falsehood among others, that he was admiral, though a mere pilot " (Anabasis 6, 2). Plutarch says that he told of a visit of the queen of the Amazons to Alexander (Alexander 46). This story together with his account of seeing hippopotami in the Indus River (Strabo 15, 1, 13; Arrian, Indica 6, 8), his saying that India comprised a third of the earth's surface (Strabo 15, 1, 12; Arrian, Indica 3, 6) and his story of seeing two snakes, one 80 cubits long and the other 140 (Strabo 15, 1, 28) indicate that his statement that he was a disciple of Diogenes should be accepted with reserve. His joining a military expedition was contrary to Cynic principles. Since Alexander

used him as a pilot it is likely that he was a sailor, and he may have seen Diogenes during some visit of his ship to the port of Corinth. According to his own statement he told Mandanis that Socrates and Diogenes bade people to abstain from meat and he gave Mandanis an account of Diogenes and others which caused Mandanis to remark that they "were wrong in one respect, in that they preferred custom to nature" (Strabo 15, 1, 63-65), or, as quoted by Plutarch, that they "erred in nothing so much as in having too great respect for the laws and customs of their country" (Alexander 65). We fail to recognize here any indication of familiarity with the teachings of Diogenes.

If Diogenes had conducted systematic instruction for a number of years, as Von Arnim imagines, either in Corinth or in Athens, he would probably have been followed by a number of Cynics from these cities; but we have no information of any early Cynics from either Corinth or Athens. Diogenes had no disciples and no companions. The slave Manes, who accompanied him from Sinope, abandoned him soon after reaching Greece. "He turned away from men on account of his disposition, because he disapproved of their sayings and doings" (Aelian, V. H. 13, 26). "When asked what kind of hound he was, he replied, 'When hungry, a Maltese; when full, a Molossian,—two breeds which most people praise, though for fear of fatigue, they do not venture out hunting with them. So neither can you live with me, because you are afraid of the discomforts'" (D. L. 6, 55; cf. D. L. 6, 33; Dio Chrysostom 8, 11; Vienna Papyrus 4). "Diogenes had no court either great or small . . . Diogenes was alone in the Craneum, for he had no pupils at all, nor any such crowd about him as the sophists and flute players and choral leaders have" (Dio Chrysostom 4, 12-14). "When he declared that all who should follow his treatment would be relieved of his folly, wickedness and intemperance, not a man would listen to him or seek to be cured by him. . . . The Corinthians were accustomed to see Diogenes every day at Corinth, but they did not think it worth while to listen to him" (Dio Chr. 8, 8-10). "This is the contest which I (Diogenes) steadfastly maintain and in which I risk my

life against pleasure and hardship, yet not a single wretched mortal gives heed to me" (Dio Chr. 8, 26). "One or two, indeed, used to applaud him (Diogenes) in his own day, but more than ten times ten thousand had their stomachs turned by nausea and loathing" (Julian 6, 190). "When one day he was gravely discoursing and nobody attended to him, he began whistling, and as people clustered about him, he reproached them with coming in all seriousness to hear nonsense, but slowly and contemptuously when the theme was serious" (D. L. 6, 27). "Being asked whether he had any maid or boy to wait on him, he said, 'No.' 'If you should die, then, who will carry you out to burial?' 'Whoever wants the house,' he replied" (D. L. 6, 52; cf. Gnomologium Vaticanum 200). A cause of Diogenes having no disciples is stated by Dio Chrysostom (9, 6-7) and by Stobaeus (Flor. 1, 13, 18). No place of instruction is mentioned in connection with Diogenes, corresponding to the Academy, the Lyceum and the Stoa. He is nearly always described as being alone; the anecdotes of him nearly always relate to chance meetings with strangers.

The Cynic-Stoic tradition made Crates a disciple of Diogenes—probably with the object of establishing a succession from Socrates. "Hippobotus, however, alleges that he was a pupil, not of Diogenes, but of Bryson the Achaean" (D. L. 6, 85). Hippobotus flourished about 200 B. C. He is quoted frequently by D. L., especially in regard to the Sceptics; he is quoted also by Clement of Alexandria and Iamblichus and appears to be free from bias. Crates associated with Stilpo (D. L. 2, 114) and received his first impulse to the Cynic philosophy "When he saw Telephus in a certain tragedy carrying a little basket and altogether in a wretched plight" (D. L. 6, 87). Crates is said to have been a wealthy Theban of a prominent family. The story that he sold his property and distributed the proceeds among his fellow-citizens is subject to suspicion on account of its obvious tendency (D. L. 6, 87; 9th Letter of Diogenes; Apuleius, Florida, 14). The story of Demetrius of Magnesia that he retained control of his property for the sake of his children (D. L. 6, 88) is more plausible and free from tendency. Stobaeus quotes Teles as say-

ing that Crates was a beggar (Flor. 2, 5, 67), that he doubled his cloak, that he slept in temples in summer and in bath houses in winter, also that he received scholars (Flor. 3, 97, 31). Crates, then, masqueraded as a beggar and naturally adopted a dress and equipment which would cause him to be taken for a wandering beggar, and he probably retained it at all times to enable him to support the rôle. He seems to have carried eccentricity to the verge of insanity. He appears to have believed that he could teach men a happier form of life and his sincerity is indicated by his taking up his vocation voluntarily. He was a writer and a teacher, a proselyter and a propagandist. He was free from the selfishness, indolence and indifference of Diogenes and exerted himself to benefit other men. He was the founder of the Cynic sect and the father of Cynicism and, indirectly through Zeno, also of Stoicism. Apuleius says that he obtained his ideas " partly from Diogenes and partly from his own reflection " (Florida 14). He undoubtedly knew Diogenes, but Diogenes was useful to him rather as a model than as a teacher. " Diogenes kein Lehrer sein wollte, sondern ein Beispiel " (E. Schwartz, Charakterköpfe 2, p. 18). Crates was a Theban citizen, a man of good repute and of good family; he owned property and he had a wife and children. Teles represents him as an educated man—a student of Aristotle (Stobaeus, Flor. 3, 95, 21). He could not point to himself as an exemplar of his own teaching and he urged his hearers to live like Diogenes. It was probably his commendation of Diogenes which gave rise to the tradition that he had been a disciple of Diogenes.

Thus the significance of Diogenes to the Cynics was chiefly as a symbol, and as a symbol Diogenes grew and developed with the expansion of the Cynic and Stoic sects. He became the typical Cynic, but the actual Diogenes seems to have possessed a unique personality. The stories about him are of dubious authenticity and frequently conflict with one another but the outlines of his character seem to be visible through them. He seems to have been suited to the purposes of a Cynic model. He had lost his citizenship and could not, or at any rate did not, gain citizenship

in Corinth or Athens and so was a man without a country. He was of ill-repute because of his early crime and his indecent conduct; he had no human ties, no friends, no home, no property, no occupation, no ambition and no object in life. It is unreasonable to attribute to Diogenes all the ideas developed by Cynics of later times, even when we find them expressed as sayings of Diogenes. He seems to have had no thought-out system of philosophy, but he had a ready tongue and he seems to have evaded serious discussion by means of witticisms and ridicule.

The dominant element in the character of Diogenes was indolence. He was willing to undergo discomforts and privations rather than exert himself to gain comfort and provide adequately for his wants. He denied himself pleasures except when they could be obtained without labor; for there was nothing which he cared for enough to induce him to exert himself. " But whatever could readily and without effort help the body to withstand the winter's cold or hunger or to satisfy some other appetite of the body he would never forego " (Dio Chrysostom 6, 30). " His food was whatever was near and did not require labor " (Gregory Nazianzen, Carmina Moralia 227). " He tried especially to imitate the life of the gods, for they alone, as Homer asserts (Odyssey 4,805) live at ease, implying that the life of man is full of labor and hardship " (Dio Chr. 6, 31).

A number of writings were attributed to Diogenes (D. L. 6, 80), but a man as indolent and indifferent as Diogenes would not be likely to undertake the effort of writing a book. The conditions under which he is said to have lived would have made it impossible for him to write books. If we accept the writings we must reject the numerous stories describing his way of life. Some of the stories of Diogenes indicate that he regarded writing with disfavor (D. L. 6, 48; Dio Chr. 8, 9; 17th Letter of Diogenes). Von Fritz and Dudley credit Diogenes with writings; they seem to be misled by finding a " Compendium of the Writings of Diogenes, on book " listed among the works of Theophrastus (D. L. 5, 43). The Diogenes referred to here is, I think, the physicist, Diogenes of Apollonia. The obscene rubbish attributed to Dio-

genes of Sinope would not have interested Theophrastus, even if it had been in existence in his time.

The satirist Menippus emphasized the effrontery and self-assertiveness of Diogenes; he described Diogenes as scolding the pirates who captured him for not giving their captives sufficient food; and when Diogenes is offered for sale and is asked what he knows how to do, he replies, "Govern men" (34th Letter of Crates; Philo, Quod Omnis Probus 18; D. L. 6, 29). Since Diogenes' experience in governing men, so far as our information goes, was limited to the slave Manes, in which he had made a failure, the effrontery of this reply is apparent. His effrontery is shown also in the stories of his meeting with Alexander.

The vanity of Diogenes is commented on as a prominent characteristic in D. L. 6, 26 and 41, also in Julian 6, 181, and many of the speeches attributed to him contain a note of grandiloquence and bombast which may reflect the tone of the real Diogenes. Some of the stories indicate that his egotism bordered on delusions of grandeur. Epictetus conceives of him as saying, "Who, when he sees me, does not think that he sees his king and master?" (Arrian 3, 22, 49). "This very man used to maintain how much he surpassed the Persian king in his manner of life and fortune; for that he himself was in want of nothing, while the other never had enough" (Cicero, Tusc. Disp. 5, 32; cf. Dio. Chr. 6, 1-7). "Being reproached one day for having falsified the currency, he said; 'That was the time when I was such as you are now; but such as I am now you will never be'" (D. L. 6, 56). Dio Chrysostom represents him as saying that he "was the only independent man in the world, and that nobody else had any comprehension of his own highest happiness" (6, 34). "If Alexander wishes to know my life and teaching, say to him that it is as far from Athens to Macedonia as it is from Macedonia to Athens" (23rd Letter of Diogenes; St. Basil, Letter 9).

The contempt of other men which Diogenes is frequently represented as expressing, as shown in the lamp story and others (D. L. 6, 24, 27, 32, 40, 41, 60, etc.) is also an indication of his egotism. His idea that he was not subject to the restraints of conduct which

were observed by other men, that " all things belong to the wise " and that he was preeminently wise is attributable to the same trait. His egotism was apparently sufficient to prevent him from becoming a disciple or employee of any one, for he would not have been willing to place himself in a subordinate position. His attitude toward other men was one of scorn rather than hatred, i. e., he was a megalomaniac rather than a misanthropist, as was noted by Montaigne; " I do not think that we are so unhappy as we are vain, or have so much malice as folly; nor so miserable as we are vile and mean. And therefore Diogenes, who passed away his time rolling himself in his tub, and made nothing of the great Alexander, esteeming us no better than flies or bladders stuffed up with wind, was a sharper and more penetrating and consequently, in my opinion, a juster judge than Timon, surnamed the man-hater " (Essays 50). There may be an allusion here to the 47th Letter of Diogenes, in which he is represented as saying; " If the race of men should cease to exist, there would be as much cause for regret as there would be if the flies and wasps should pass away."

When an individual reaches a conviction that he is always right and that every one else is always wrong, it is regarded as a psychopathic symptom. Diogenes' disinclination to perform any active or useful labor, his lack of moral inhibitions and his indifference to the opinions of others were also psychopathic symptoms and he appears to have been regarded as insane by many persons in his own time. " The crowd scorned him and called him crazy " (Dio Chr. 8, 36). " Some admired him as the wisest man in the world, to others he seemed crazy " (Ibid. 9, 8). " Plato, on being asked by somebody, ' What sort of a man do you consider Diogenes to be? ' ' A Socrates gone mad,' said he " (D. L. 6, 54; Aelian, V. H. 14, 33). It is not likely that Plato had any knowledge of Diogenes, but this story has significance as connecting Diogenes with insanity.

The felicity of Diogenes' life, which he seems to have credited to his own wisdom, was largely due to favoring circumstances over which he had no control. Greece has a mild and equable cli-

mate which favors life in the open; the governments of Corinth and Athens were liberal to aliens and vagrants; and the Greeks of that period seem to have been generous to beggars. His form of life would not be practicable in a rigorous climate; under Roman government the Cynics became acquainted with the whipping post and the rack; and when Cynics became so numerous as to become a burden on the community, their lives became difficult and precarious.

THE DIOGENES LEGEND

The Diogenes Legend has always been a living and growing one. Diogenes has always been the typical Cynic, but as the ideas of Cynicism changed, the conception of the type changed also. The Diogenes as minister of God of Epictetus (3, 24, 64) and as a sacred personage of Julian (7, 212) show a long period of growth from Diogenes the Dog.

The growth of the Diogenes Legend has continued to modern times. The Diogenes of present day literature is an old man who goes about in the daytime with a lantern, looking for an honest man. This conception of him evidently comes from the following; " He (Diogenes) lit a lamp in broad daylight and said as he went about, ' I am looking for a man ' " (D. L. 6, 41; cf. Tertullian, Against Marcion 1, 1; Philo, On the Giants 34). This seems to have been a popular story before the time of Diogenes; it was told of Aesop, Heraclitus, Democritus, Archilochus and others (De Diogenis Sinopensis apophthegmatis quaestiones selectae, A. Packmohr, p. 74). The story is not well suited to Diogenes, for the impulse which led him to throw away his cup when he saw a boy drink from his hands would have caused him to reject the use of a lamp. The lamp was an artificial object and the use of it was not consistent with the " life according to nature " in the Cynic sense.

The story was probably understood as a comment on the general degeneracy or effeminacy of the contemporaries of the persons named. As told of Diogenes it may be taken in connection with the following; " Being asked where in Greece he saw a good man, he replied, ' Good men nowhere, but good boys at Lacedaemon ' " (D. L. 6, 27). That is to say, the Lacedaemonians possessed in part the qualities which the adult (i. e., Diogenes) possessed in perfection. The Lacedaemonians were trained with a view to improving their strength, agility and endurance without reference to honesty; they commended stealing when it was suc-

cessfully accomplished. The lamp story harmonizes with a number of others in which Diogenes is represented as expressing contempt for the men of his time (D. L. 6, 24, 32, 35, 40, 58, 60; Letter No. 47); but there is no reference to honesty in any of them. Diogenes was not connected with the idea of honesty in antiquity.* He and his followers had no property and they were not interested in property rights. The idea that Diogenes was specifically searching for an "honest" man seems to be a modern accretion to this ancient story.

The modern Diogenes is also a man who lived in a tub—presumably a bath tub. A modern historian, George Grote, has aided materially in building this legend. He mentions Diogenes only once in his History of Greece (Vol. 12, p. 48), in a passage which is obviously taken from Plutarch (Lives, Alexander 14). But Grote omits the portion in which Plutarch describes Diogenes as "lying along in the sun" when found by Alexander and substitutes the statement that Alexander found "the Cynic philosopher Diogenes, who resided at Corinth, satisfied with a tub for shelter, and with the coarsest and most self-denying existence." Grote here translates as "tub" the word πίθος (Latin, dolium), which ordinarily meant an earthenware wine jar, but was also applied to the immense earthenware water jars which served as cisterns. The German translation of πίθος as tonne (barrel) gives a closer approximation to the meaning. These jars were large enough for a man to creep into, and if one of them were empty and lying on its side, it would make a good shelter from the wind and rain. The story of Diogenes rolling in his tub (D. L. 6, 23) shows that the teller had in mind a vessel approximately cylindrical in form with its axis as its longest dimension. The story of its being broken and replaced with another (D. L. 6, 43) seems to indicate that it was of earthenware. According to one account Diogenes made use of the jar temporarily while a house was being prepared for him (D. L. 6, 23); according to another he countermanded his order for a house on seeing a snail carrying its shell (16th Letter); † and elsewhere

* Vide supra, p. 5.

† Vide supra, p. 1.

the jar is represented as his permanent abode (Hieronymus, Adv. Jovianum 2, 14, etc.). But generally Diogenes is described as sleeping in temples or in gymnasia or on the ground, e. g. D. L. 6, 22. Teles does not mention the πίθος and describes Diogenes as sleeping in bath houses in winter and in temples in summer (Stobaeus, Flor. 1, 5, 67). Dio Chrysostom says that Diogenes " made the cities his home and used to live there in the public buildings and in the shrines which are dedicated to the gods " (4, 13); he does not mention the πίθος. The excavations of Dr. D. M. Robinson at Olynthus seem to show that the bathing places of the Greeks in the time of Diogenes were fixtures in buildings.

Walter Savage Landor's " Imaginary Conversations, Diogenes and Plato " deserves classification as a modern contribution to the Diogenes Legend, for Landor draws largely if not mainly on his imagination for his conception of Diogenes, whom he represents as a greater philosopher and a more exalted character than Plato.

In approaching the Diogenes Legend of antiquity we are impressed with the unparallelled number and variety of the stories in which it is contained. After narrating hundreds of these D. L. says, " Many other sayings are attributed to him which it would take long to enumerate " (6, 69). Plutarch relates a great number of these stories and says, " Diogenes may serve for a thousand instances " (Progress in Virtue 8). Dio Chrysostom says, " Many persons relate sayings of Diogenes, of which some were perhaps spoken by him and the rest were composed by others " (72, 11). The authors in whose works these stories appear do not seem to copy from one another; each is likely to have stories which we do not find elsewhere, and where the same story appears in the writings of different authors it is likely to have a different form in each. These authors appear to have drawn from an inexhaustible reservoir and when more than one have the same story it may result from their tastes being similar rather than from their being limited in their selection. A papyrus discovered about a hundred years ago and believed to date from the 1st century A. D., called the Vienna Papyrus, contains nine Diogenes stories, only one of which can be found elsewhere and this appears in a

new form (Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde, W. Crönert, Vol. 6, p. 50). Thus we have no reason for supposing that we have even a majority of these stories and it is probable that there were many which were never committed to writing. The variations noted in those which we have seem to indicate that they were repeated orally many times before they were written. A gap of three centuries or more separates Diogenes of Sinope from the earliest accounts of him which have come to us from the hands of their authors, but there was probably an extensive oral tradition of him in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B. C. in addition to that contained in writings which have been lost and are known to us through D. L., Athenaeus, Stobaeus and others.

Diogenes stories possessing biographical significance, such as that for which D. L. quotes the authority of Olympiodorus, Polyeuctus and Lysanias (6, 23) and that quoted by Hieronymus from the biography of Diogenes by Satyrus (Adv. Jovianum 2, 14), are remarkably few. This biography, the earliest of which we have any account, appeared about a hundred years after the death of Diogenes and may have been made up largely from an already existing legend. Dio Chrysostom tells us a number of details about the life of Diogenes but his Discourses were written nearly four hundred years after the death of Diogenes and we do not know the source of his information.

The Diogenes Legend is found chiefly in short anecdotes. D. L. mentions a book of Anecdotes (χρείαις) by Metrocles (6, 33), a book of Recollections of Crates by Zeno (7, 4), four books of Anecdotes and a Memorabilia by Persaeus (7, 36) and eleven books of Anecdotes by Aristo (7, 163). These collections of stories and reminiscences by early Cynics and Stoics may form a channel through which many stories of Diogenes have come down to us; but the stream, no doubt, received accretions from many tributaries. We cannot condemn them indiscriminately; our difficulty, in most cases, is that we do not know their origin. It is probable that many Diogenes anecdotes were invented by Cynics for use in expressing or illustrating Cynic ideas, as a more popular form of teaching than expounding principles. They had no

written canon and their most authoritative mode of teaching was in relating the sayings and doings of their leader.

A majority of the Diogenes stories are in the form which was called the Chria (χρεία) or apophthegm. This was ordinarily a brief statement of an incident or a situation followed by a pungent remark. The Greeks were fond of apophthegms and made collections of them, e. g. Plutarch's Sayings of the Spartans and his Sayings of Rulers and Commanders. In these anecdotes it is the saying or doing which is emphasised and the person of whom it is related is of less consequence. This is shown by the fact that many of them were told of more than one person, indicating carelessness or indifference as to the person who was the subject of the story. The popularity of an individual was roughly indicated by the number of anecdotes told of him. Naturally it is useless to search through such material for biographical data. Many of the chria follow set forms; a numerous class has the form,—" Being asked by some one . . . Diogenes replied. . . . " An example is the following, " Being asked what wine he enjoyed drinking, he said, ' That which belongs to some one else ' " (D. L. 6, 54). The reply here is practically one word (τὸν ἀλλότριον) and we note that brevity seems to be sought for, especially in the replies. Another common form is; " Seeing some one . . . Diogenes remarked. . . . " Examples of these are found in the Bouriant Papyrus, which contains five Diogenes stories, all beginning with the word " Seeing." Sometimes Diogenes is represented as doing something unusual and being asked for an explanation; this gives him the opportunity for his reply. The form of these stories is discussed at length by Gunnar Rudberg (Zur Diogenes-Tradition, Symbolae Osloenses, Fasc. 14).

While most of the Diogenes stories present him in a favorable light and probably came from Cynic or Stoic sources, we find some which are unfavorable to him, preserved perhaps because they were thought to be good stories. Examples are found in D. L. 6, 28 and 53, in which Plato is given the advantage of the last remark and in one case comments on Diogenes' vanity and in the other on his lack of understanding. Another is; " Plato,

when Diogenes asked him to eat in the market place, said, ' How pleasing your simplicity would be, if it was not a sham ' " (Gnomologium Vaticanum 445). Also we find; " King Croesus, wealthiest of kings, Diogenes the Cynic saw your form amongst the shades. Said he; ' Now you have nothing, Croesus, that was yours, while I still have all that I had. Bare was I, so I am now. I had nothing and that I still have.' The king replied, ' I wanted for nothing when you, you beggar, lacked everything, and do I lack if I need nothing now? ' " (Ausonius, Epitaph 30).

Among the stories favorable to Diogenes we find opposing opinions attributed to him. Diogenes was more a symbol of Cynicism than a historical person; as different persons differed in their conceptions of Cynicism, it followed that they differed in their ideas of the character and opinions of Diogenes. In one story Diogenes praises education as " a grace to the young, consolation to the old, wealth to the poor and ornament to the rich " (D. L. 6, 68). The designation of education as " wealth to the poor " is credited by Xenophon to Antisthenes (Banquet 4, 34), which shows that it is Socratic.* Diogenes is also represented as sneering at an ignorant rich man as " the sheep with the golden fleece " (D. L. 6, 47). We find also; " Diogenes being asked what was the most burdensome thing on the earth said, ' An ignorant man ' " (Ioannes Damascenus 2, c 13, 75). These stories are opposed by those in which Diogenes denounces education as useless and unnecessary (D. L. 6, 73, etc.). The following, " To the question what is wretched in life he (Diogenes) replied, ' An old man destitute ' " (D. L. 6, 51), is opposed by numerous passages, especially in the Letters of Diogenes, in which he is represented as saying that happiness can be found only in a state of destitution. The following shows a respect for temples which is not expressed elsewhere; " When he (Diogenes) was dining in a temple, and in the course of the meal loaves not free from dirt were put on the table, he took them up and threw them away, declaring that nothing unclean ought to enter a temple " (D. L. 6, 64). On the contrary, he implies that temples are useful only

* Cf. Prayer of Socrates, Plato, Phaedrus 279.

as sleeping places (D. L. 6, 22, etc.), he calls the officials of a temple "thieves" (D. L. 6, 45), he saw no impropriety in stealing anything from a temple (D. L. 6, 73) and Julian says that "He did not visit the temples or worship statues or altars" (6, 199). A story credited to an otherwise unknown Zoilus of Perga attributes to Diogenes a religious point of view which is not found elsewhere (D. L. 6, 37).

"On one occasion, when a boy was eating rather greedily, Diogenes gave the lad's tutor a blow with his first, ascribing the fault not to the boy, who had not learnt how to eat properly, but to his tutor who had not taught him" (Plutarch, That Virtue May be Taught 2). This is inconsistent with Cynicism, for it represents Diogenes as requiring that a boy should be taught to be a slave of conventionality. We find the same difficulty with the instruction given to the sons of Xeniades (D. L. 6, 31). "To those who said to him, 'You are an old man; take a rest,' 'What?' he replied, 'if I were running in the stadium, ought I to slacken my pace when approaching the goal? Ought I not rather to put on speed?'" (D. L. 6, 34; Gno. Vat. 202). This is inconsistent with Cynic ideas of apathy and indifference, as are many of the stories of Diogenes.

We find in these stories two opposing strains of thought, one of which may be regarded as Socratic or Antisthenean and the other as Cynic or Diogenean. They show different conceptions of the character of Diogenes. If the Socratic stories are of later origin than the Cynic, they show a progressive development of Cynic thought similar to that of the Stoics. But there seem to have been two or more sects of persons who were called Cynics during the early Christian era and it is probable that only a minority adopted Socratic ideas. Julian says; "The better sort of Cynics assert that, in addition to the other blessings bestowed on us by the mighty Hercules, it was he who bequeathed to mankind the noblest example of this mode of life" (6, 187). The tradition of Hercules as a model is identified with Antisthenes and the Cynic sect mentioned by Julian was probably influenced by the writings of Antisthenes. There seems to have been a similar sect among the Stoics,

for D. L. says, "It would seem that the most manly section of the Stoic School owed its origin to him" (6, 14).

In some of the stories Diogenes is represented as a hedonist, in others as an ascetic. Von Fritz expresses the opinion that the stories of Diogenes living the easy life of the gods, eating cakes and using unguents form a late development of the Legend. He thinks that the Cynics were originally ascetics, that they became lax in later times and that the stories with the hedonist tendency originated in connection with the change (Quellen-Untersuchungen, p. 44). We have not sufficient information in regard to the age of these stories to enable us to solve this problem definitely, but there appear to be reasons for believing that the reverse was more probably the case. The object of Diogenes and Crates was happiness for themselves (Julian 6, 201) and the subject of early Cynic teaching was the short road to happiness; it seems probable that they were frankly hedonistic. The ascetic practices of the early Cynics had no object other than hardening the body in order to gain greater freedom by making themselves independent of ordinary comforts. The later Cynics were professional beggars who probably found that an able bodied man who professed no other object than his own happiness was not an appealing object of charity. They probably adopted a pretense of asceticism, of extreme poverty and of being teachers of virtue engaged in a warfare against pleasure as an aid to their beggary. Many of the passages relating to their hardships,—sleeping on the ground, drinking water from springs, eating lentils and water cresses gathered by the roadside, etc.,—have a ring of cant.

Many of the Diogenes apophthegms were obviously borrowed from other individuals. As the Cynics increased in numbers and importance there was a corresponding growth in the prestige and importance of their leader. Philosophers who had previously been quoted waned in importance or were forgotten, and sayings attributed to them were given fresh significance by transferring them to Diogenes. A. Packmohr has collected a large number of Diogenes anecdotes which were also told of other men and has attempted to trace their sources. He expresses the opinion that

many anecdotes which had previously been related of Aristippus, Theodorus and Diagoras were transferred to Diogenes and that many of the sayings attributed to Diogenes came from Greek comedies (De Diogenis Sinopensis apophthegmatis quaestiones selectae, p. 96). F. Dümmler says, " Quare quamvis multa de Diogene narrantur ad optimos auctores Bionem et Metroclem redeant " (Antisthenica, p. 72).

Von Fritz finds many sayings attributed to Diogenes and originating with Bion (Quellen-Untersuchungen, p. 42). An example is found in the remarks of Diogenes about grammarians, musicians, mathematicians, etc. (D. L. 6, 27-28), for the same remarks are credited to Bion by Stobaeus (Flor. 1, 4, 54 and 3, 80, 3). Teles as quoted by Stobaeus appears to regard Bion as a more important authority than Diogenes. Von Fritz says, " Bion never really was a Cynic " (Quellen-Untersuchungen, p. 45) and this may explain why the Cynics lost interest in him but preserved many of his sayings as sayings of Diogenes.

The growth of the Diogenes Legend in itself indicates a probability that where a Diogenes story is found told of another person there has been a transfer of the story from the other person to Diogenes, and there are instances in which this can be shown to be the case with reasonable certainty. " Observing Plato one day at a costly banquet taking olives, ' How is it,' he (Diogenes) said, ' that you the philosopher who sailed to Sicily for the sake of these dishes, now when they are before you do not enjoy them? ' ' Nay, by the gods, Diogenes,' replied Plato, ' there also for the most part I lived upon olives and such like.' ' Why then,' said Diogenes, ' did you need to go to Syracuse? Was it that Attica at that time did not grow olives? ' but Favorinus in his Miscellaneous History attributes this to Aristippus " (D. L. 6, 25). An examination of this story seems to show that the version of Favorinus was the older one, for it was a popular tradition that Plato and Aristippus were table companions at the court of Dionysius II and the pleasure loving Aristippus could very well be represented as being at a banquet with Plato in Sicily and as criticising Plato for eating simple fare. But the story becomes

improbable when the banquet is transported to Athens and Diogenes is made a table mate of Plato; and Diogenes, who is ordinarily a champion of frugality, is made to speak out of character in taking Plato to task for eating simple food (Von Fritz, Quel.-Unters., p. 20). Similarly, the story of Diogenes spitting in a man's face (D. L. 6, 32; Letter No. 38) is evidently borrowed from Aristippus (D. L. 2, 75). The popular story of washing vegetables apparently began with Metrocles and Theodorus (D. L. 2, 102), was transferred to Aristippus and Diogenes (D. L. 2, 68; Horace, Epistles 1, 17; Valerius Maximus 4, 3, Ext. 4; Gno. Vat. 192) and then to Plato and Diogenes (D. L. 6, 58), in each case seeking more popular and better known subjects.

Not only did the Diogenes stories grow in number through inventions and borrowings but also some of them grew in length and detail. Stobaeus quotes Teles as saying; "It is to be wondered at, says Diogenes, if Manes is able to live without Diogenes, Diogenes will not be able to be of good courage without Manes" (Flor. 3, 97, 31). Seneca tells this story as follows; "The only slave Diogenes had ran away from him once, and when he was pointed out to him, he did not think it worth while to fetch him back. 'It would be a shame,' he said, 'If Diogenes is not able to live without Manes when Manes is able to live without Diogenes.' But he seems to me to have cried, Fortune, mind your own business; Diogenes has nothing left that belongs to you. Did my slave run away? Nay, he went away from me as a free man" (On Peace of Mind 8; Of a Happy Life 15). D. L. also has a version of this story (6, 55), and Aelian tells it as follows; "When Diogenes left his country he was followed by a slave named Manes, who—not liking Diogenes' way of living—ran away. Diogenes was urged to search for him but replied, 'Would it not be shameful, if Manes does not need Diogenes, for Diogenes to need Manes?' This slave wandered to Delphi and was torn to pieces by dogs; he paid the penalty for the wrong done his master in running away" (Varia Historia 13, 28). The last sentence is obviously an accretion.

"Through watching a mouse running about, says Theophrastus

in the Megarian dialogue, not looking for a place to lie down in, not afraid of the dark, not seeking any of the things which are considered to be dainties, he discovered the means of adapting himself to circumstances" (D. L. 6, 22). If this is actually from Theophrastus, the successor of Aristotle at the Lyceum, it is one of the oldest, if not the oldest of the Diogenes stories. It is expanded by Plutarch as follows. "They relate of Diogenes of Sinope, when he began to be a philosopher, that the Athenians were celebrating a festival, and there were public banquets and shows and mutual festivities and drinking and revelling all night, and he, coiled up in a corner of the market-place intending to sleep, fell into a train of thought likely seriously to turn him from his purpose and shake his resolution, for he reflected that he had adopted without any necessity a toilsome and unusual kind of life, and by his own fault sat there debarred of all the good things. At that moment, however, they say a mouse stole up and began to munch some of the crumbs of his barley cake, and he plucked up his courage and said to himself in a railing and chiding fashion; 'What say you, Dogenes? Do your leavings give this mouse a sumptuous meal, while you, the gentleman, wail and lament because you are not getting drunk yonder and reclining on soft and luxurious couches'" (Progress in Virtue 5). Aelian's version of the story is as follows. "Diogenes of Sinope was alone and lay down in solitude. There was no one who relieved his wants and no one who invited him to be a guest. He turned away from men on account of his disposition, because he disapproved of their sayings and doings. He was in low spirits and was chewing the tops of leaves; under these circumstances a mouse approached him and nibbled crumbs which had fallen from his loaf of bread. As Diogenes observed closely what the mouse did, he became cheerful and even joyous; he smiled and said, 'This mouse is not in need of Athenian luxuries, but you, Diogenes, are down-hearted because you are not a guest at Athenian banquets.' In this way he gained a tranquil mind" (Varia Historia 13, 26).

The Diogenes of Theophrastus gets from the mouse a sugges-

tion in regard to " adapting himself to circumstances "; i. e., how to get along in a period of scarcity. The Diogenes of Plutarch has the attitude of a religious devotee about to take monastic vows; he is faltering in his resolution and the mouse encourages him to go on. The Diogenes of Aelian learns a lesson which is not economic but spiritual; he gains " a tranquil mind." Theophrastus tells us of a man engaged with a practical problem; Plutarch and Aelian narrate the spiritual struggles of a saint in attaining perfection. The version of Theophrastus is not located with respect to place; both of the others are located in Athens. This illustrates the drift of the Diogenes stories to Athens; a drift which points to that city as the chief source of the Diogenes Legend.

" He (Diogenes) described himself as a hound of the sort which all men praise, but no one, he added, of his admirers dared go out hunting along with him " (D. L. 6, 33). This story is told with the addition of some details by Dio Chrysostom (8, 11); the dogs are now Laconian and are shown at public gatherings. It appears also in D. L. 6, 55, but there are now two kinds of dogs; Diogenes is like a Maltese when he is hungry and like a Molossian when he is full. The story appears again in the Vienna Papyrus (Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde, 6, p. 50). In this version there are three kinds of dogs. The two versions last named contain inconsistencies which are discussed by Von Fritz (Quellen-Untersuchungen, pp. 61-62) and which appear to indicate that they are perversions or corruptions of the story quoted in D. L. 6, 33. We see evidences of development from simple to complex forms in these stories, which indicate a probability that where we find a story in two or more forms the shortest, simplest and most consistent is the oldest.

The oldest account of the meeting of Alexander and Diogenes which we have is that of Cicero; " Diogenes . . . when Alexander asked him if he wanted anything, ' Just at present,' said he, ' I wish that you would stand a little out of the line between me and the sun,' for Alexander was hindering him from sunning himself " (Tusc. Disp. 5, 32). This story may have been taken by

Cicero from the biography of Diogenes by Satyrus or from the biography of Alexander by Onesicritus. It was expanded and embellished by Plutarch as follows. " Soon after (the fall of Thebes), the Grecians, being assembled at the Isthmus, declared their resolution of joining with Alexander in the war against the Persians and proclaimed him their general. While he stayed here, many public ministers and philosophers came from all parts to visit him and congratulate him on his election but, contrary to his expectation, Diogenes of Sinope, who was then living in Corinth, thought so little of him that, instead of coming to compliment him, he never so much as stirred out of the suburb called the Craneum, where Alexander found him lying along in the sun. When he saw so much company near him, he raised himself a little and vouchsafed to look upon Alexander; and he kindly asked him whether he wanted anything. ' Yes,' said he, ' I would have you stand from between me and the sun.' Alexander was so much struck at this answer and surprised at the greatness of the man, who had taken so little notice of him, that as he went away he told his followers, who were laughing at the moroseness of the philosopher, that if he were not Alexander he would be Diogenes " (Lives, Alexander 14). This version is of special interest because it has become historical through its acceptance by Grote, Smith and other historians.

Dio Chrysostom adopted this meeting as the setting of his 4th Discourse and follows the foregoing version in its main features; he seems to believe that the meeting took place but warns us against accepting the accounts of it literally. He says; " All men without exception are naturally delighted when they see wisdom honored by the greatest power and might; hence they not only relate the facts in such cases but add extravagant embellishments of their own " (4, 2). D. L. has four accounts of the meeting, one of which (6, 38) agrees with that of Cicero and the others vary. One of his versions is as follows; " Alexander once came and stood opposite him and said, ' I am Alexander the great king.' ' And I,' said he, ' am Diogenes the Dog ' " (6, 60). The narrator of this story has caught the idea that its dramatic effect

depends on the contrast between the two men and he has heightened it by making Alexander "the great king," i. e., the king of Persia, and emphasising the fact that Diogenes was called "the Dog."

Arrian (Anabasis 7, 2, 1-2) has an account of the meeting which agrees tolerably well with that of Cicero, and Valerius Maximus (4, 3, Ext. 4) has a similar account. The account in the 33rd Letter of Diogenes appears to place the meeting in Athens and differs in other respects. Seneca speaks of "Diogenes, who walked naked through the treasures of Macedonia, treading the king's wealth under his feet. In good sooth, he must then rightly have seemed, both to himself and to all others whose eyes were keen enough to perceive the real truth, to be superior even to him at whose feet all the world lay. He was far more powerful, far richer even than Alexander, who then possessed everything; for there was more that Diogenes could refuse to receive than that Alexander was able to give" (On Benefits, 5, 4). Seneca conceives of Alexander as already the conqueror of the world and imagines that he offered Diogenes the Macedonian treasury. Juvenal writes in the same strain; "Alexander felt, when he saw in that tub its great inhabitant, how much more really happy was he who coveted nothing, than he who aimed at gaining to himself the whole world" (Satire 14). Apuleius' account of the meeting is, "Diogenes the Cynic, when disputing with Alexander the Great as to who was the true king, boasted of his staff as serving him in the stead of a scepter" (Apologia 22).

The story of the meeting with Alexander was the most popular of the stories of Diogenes and apparently that on which his fame chiefly rested. Out of the story of his snub to Alexander came the tradition of Diogenes as the censor of kings, and from this came the special privilege of the Cynics in rebuking rulers and public officials and the idea that Cynics were qualified to advise the conduct of governments—certainly, a strange development since they were anarchists, opposed to all forms of government. This tradition bore little, if any, analogy to Socrates' idea of philosopher kings and Plato's idea of philosophers as advisers

of rulers, for Socrates and Plato had in mind philosophers specially qualified by character and training.

As Jack the Giant Killer after demolishing one giant sets out in search of another, so Diogenes the Tyrant Queller castigates and humbles all the rulers of his time and some who belonged to other periods. He rebukes Philip after the battle of Chaeroneia (D. L. 6, 43; Epictetus 3, 22, 24; Plutarch, How one can discover a flatterer from a friend 30; Ibid. On Exile 16). He berates Dionysius II of Syracuse (Plutarch, Lives, Timoleon; Ibid. Whether an old man ought to take part in state affairs; 8th and 29th Letters of Diogenes). He writes letters of admonition and censure to Alexander (23rd, 24th and 40th Letters; St. Basil, Letter No. 9), also to Perdiccas (5th and 45th Letters; D. L. 6, 44) and to Antipater (4th, 14th and 15th Letters). The 40th Letter, addressed to Alexander, begins; "What I said to Dionysius and Perdiccas I say also to you,—that you seem to think that ruling is making war on men." He writes a letter of abuse to the Sinopeans (1st Letter) and another addressed generally to the Greeks (28th Letter) and snubs Craterus (D. L. 6, 57). He writes letters to the king of the Persians and to Archidamus, king of the Lacedaemonians (Julian 7, 212; Epictetus 4, 1, 29-30 and 156) and has a conversation with Antigonus (Plutarch, False Modesty; Seneca, De Beneficiis 2, 17). Diogenes gives Alexander a lecture on kingship (33rd Letter; Dio Chrysostom, 4th Disc.) and Gregory Nazianzen speaks of Diogenes' receiving as guests the tyrants of the tragedies and bidding them stand aside (Or. 4, Contra Julianum 1, 72). The rôle of Diogenes as a censor of kings is stated by Epictetus; "Therefore see what Diogenes himself says and writes, 'Diogenes, it is in your power to speak both with the king of the Persians and with Archidamus the king of the Lacedaemonians as you please'" (Arrian 4, 1, 156). This indicates the existence of a writing attributed to Diogenes in which he claims this prerogative. Epictetus conceives of Diogenes as saying; "How do I meet with those you are afraid of and admire? Do I not treat them like slaves? Who, when he sees me, does not think he sees his king and master? . . . What is

Caesar to a Cynic, or what is a proconsul or what is any other except him who sent the Cynic . . . namely Zeus?" (3, 22, 49-56). Tertullian represents a Cynic as saying; "From any and every boundary stone or altar it is my wont to prescribe medicines to morals—medicines which will be more felicitous in conferring good health upon public affairs and states and empires than your works are" (De Pallio 5). During the lifetime of Epictetus some Cynics essayed at Rome the rôle of the Cynic as conceived of by him and met with discouragement; the Cynics were driven from Rome by Vespasian, some were confined to islands, one was flogged and one was beheaded (Cassius Dio Cocceianus, Historia Romanorum 66, 13-16). The Cynics were driven from Rome again by Domitian.

Von Fritz calls the correspondence of Diogenes with Perdiccas a historical impossibility (Quellen-Untersuchungen p. 28). The conversation between Diogenes and Menander, which appears in the Vienna Papyrus (No. 10), is also an impossibility, since Menander belonged to a later generation than Diogenes. Epictetus tells of a letter of Diogenes to a Persian king, admonishing him not to make war on the Athenians for, he says, the Athenians will die if they lose their liberties (Arrian 4, 1, 29-31). This letter appears to reflect the atmosphere of the 5th century B. C.; in the time of Diogenes the Athenians lost their liberty and did not die. There was little, if any, apprehension in the time of Diogenes of an invasion of Greece by the Persians. The expedition of the Ten Thousand (400 B. C.) had made known the weakness of the Persian empire and thenceforth there was more consideration of invasion of Persia by Greeks than of Greece by Persians.

We note in Plutarch's account of the meeting of Alexander and Diogenes and in other stories a tendency to show Diogenes as a prominent and distinguished man in his lifetime; they assign to Diogenes a relative importance which he probably did not attain until after his death. There are some which seem to have invented for this purpose, e. g.; "Amongest his (Diogenes) hearers was Phocion surnamed the Honest and Stilpo the Me-

garian and many other men prominent in political life" (D. L. 6, 76). Here the narrator in the last clause naively discloses the impression which he wishes to create. The following is another example; "He (Diogenes) was buried beside the gate (of Corinth) leading to the Isthmus. Over his grave they set up a pillar and a dog in Parian marble upon it. Subsequently his fellow-citizens honored him with bronze statues" (D. L. 6, 78). Von Fritz suggests that if there was a monument at Corinth with an image of a dog and no inscription, it might have been intended, not for a man, but for a real dog (Quellen-Untersuchungen p. 90). But it is most probable that there was no such monument. Pausanias visited Corinth in the 2nd century A. D.: he says, "Going up into Corinth (from the harbor), there are many tombs along the road and near the gate Diogenes of Sinope is buried, he whom the Greeks call by the nick-name "Dog." Before the city there is a grove of cypress trees called the Craneum; here is the shrine of Bellerophon and the temple of Aphrodite Melanis and the tomb of Lais upon which is put a lioness holding a ram in her front paws" (Descriptio Graeciae 2, 2, 4). Since Pausanias mentions and describes the tomb of Lais, it is probable that he would have mentioned a tomb of Diogenes if he had seen one, especially if it was of an unusual character. He merely states that Diogenes was buried there and does not say that he saw his tomb; the obvious meaning is that there was no monument and that Pausanias obtained the information that Diogenes was buried there from hearsay. Pausanias seems to think that Diogenes was buried near the gate leading to the harbor, north of the city, while D. L. states that he was buried beside the gate leading east to the Isthmus. This monument story and the remark of Pausanias are valuable as evidence that in antiquity Diogenes was regarded as a resident of Corinth. The oral tradition picked up by Pausanias at Corinth, that Diogenes was buried near the north gate of the city, is probably true. The statement that the people of Sinope "honored him with bronze statues" is shown to be a fiction by its indefinite plurality. Diogenes had lost his citizenship and there is no probability that the Sinopeans would have erected statues

to a fugitive from justice who never returned to the city or served it in any way. The 1st Letter of Diogenes expresses a feeling of hatred toward the Sinopeans. Dr. D. M. Robinson's explorations at Sinope showed that the names Diogenes and Hicesias were common there; but he found no inscription clearly relating to Diogenes the Dog (Ancient Sinope p. 299).

One of the oldest and most widely circulated stories of Diogenes was the romance written by the satirist Menippus of his being captured by pirates and offered for sale. This story gave publicity to Diogenes and an impetus to the Legend. There is no reason for regarding this story as biographical, for Menippus was a writer of fiction, which included a journey to Hades (Rudolf Helm, Lucian und Menipp); D. L. says of Menippus, "There is no seriousness in him" (6, 99). This story of Diogenes may have been suggested by a similar story of Plato. The story of Plato was given a degree of plausibility by his known voyages to Sicily; but we cannot explain why Diogenes should have undertaken a voyage after his arrival in Greece nor how the expense of the voyage was met. Von Fritz suggests that as Menippus is said to have been a slave (D. L. 6, 99), he may have desired to tell a story in which the ordinary relations of slave and master were reversed (Quellen-Untersuchungen p. 25). But this suggestion is not a happy one, for there is reason to believe that the story, as told by Menippus, did not contain any account of the life of Diogenes as a slave. The accounts of the capture of Diogenes and of his being offered for sale in the 34th Letter of Crates and in Philo (Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit 18) are obviously from the same source and are the most complete versions which we have of the Menippus romance. Consistent with these are the passage quoted from Cleomenes by D. L. (6, 75), the mentions of Diogenes being offered for sale by Clemens Alexandrinus (Paed. 3, 3) and by Plutarch (on Contentedness of Mind 4; Whether Vice is Sufficient to cause Unhappiness 3) and a statement of Firmianus Lactantius; "It is related also that Plato and Diogenes were not slaves, although captivity befell them, for they were captured. A certain Anniceris is said to have ransomed

Plato for eight sestertii" (Div. Instit. 3, 25). In the 34th Letter of Crates it is stated that Diogenes was not sold but was held by the pirates as an instructor. All of these accounts appear to come from Menippus; they speak of Diogenes being offered for sale but not of his being sold or of his being a slave.

The romance of Menippus appears to have failed to bring Diogenes back to Greece and this omission may have suggested to Eubulus the idea of writing a sequel (D. L. 6, 30-32, 36, 74). Eubulus seems to have been responsible for the introduction of Xeniades and the account of the life of Diogenes as a slave at Corinth. Eubulus seems to have had some ideas about the training of boys which he wished to expound and not to have been interested in Cynicism. He may have selected Diogenes as the demonstrator of his ideas on account of his popularity, ignoring the fact that Diogenes was regarded as the typical Cynic. The instruction described is not Cynic.

D. L. represents Diogenes as "adulterating currency in very truth, allowing convention no such authority as he allowed to natural right, and asserting that the manner of life he lived was the same as that of Hercules when he preferred liberty to everything" (6, 71). Here Diogenes is shown as taking Hercules as a model, an idea which seems to have become a part of the Cynic tradition in the 1st century B. C. for a part, probably a minority, of the Cynics (Julian 6, 187). The idea appears in one only of the Letters of Diogenes (the 26th) and as connected with only one individual, a certain Hipponus, and this Letter may have been later than the others. The idea does not appear in the Letters of Crates or in any earlier Cynic literature, but it appears frequently in literature of later dates relating to the Cynics (Epictetus 2, 16 and 18; Ibid. 3, 22; Ibid. 4, 10; Lucian, Vitarum Auctio 10; Ibid. Peregrinus). It seems to have followed the adoption of Antisthenes as a Cynic leader, and to have been absorbed from his writings, but not to have been accepted by all Cynics or even a majority of them. The Cynics identified Hercules with the idea of liberty (D. L. 6, 71); Antisthenes probably intended him to typify virtue, energy, labor and achievement (D. L. 6, 2). The

passage quoted above (D. L. 6, 71) also describes Diogenes as "adulterating the currency"; these words are evidently used in a figurative sense and to refer to the myth that Diogenes consulted an oracle at Sinope or Delphi and was instructed to "alter the currency," meaning that he should set up new standards of conduct or "alter the political currency" (D. L. 6, 20; cf. Eduard Schwartz, Das Diogenes-Orakel als Nachbildung des Sokrates-Orakels; Herman Diels, Aus dem Leben des Kynikers Diogenes). This story of Diogenes and the oracle seems to have made its appearance in the 2nd century A. D., for earlier writers do not mention it; even Dio Chrysostom and Lucian, writing in the 2nd century A. D. seem to know nothing of it. The story was probably invented to explain or excuse the crime for which Diogenes was exiled, but it had the effect of giving him a divine mission and of divorcing him from Antisthenes. If it had developed earlier it is not likely that the tradition that he was a disciple of Antisthenes would have been taken up, for Diogenes now becomes a greater authority than Antisthenes or Socrates and Antisthenes falls into obscurity. Maximus of Tyre speaks of Diogenes having "consulted Apollo," of the life of Diogenes being "taught by Apollo and commended by Zeus" (36th Diss. 5) and describes him as a greater philosopher than Socrates (36, 6). Julian says; "The peculiar fitness of Diogenes did not escape his (Apollo's) notice. And he made him incline to that philosophy, not by urging his commands in words alone . . . but he instructed him symbolically . . . when he said 'Falsify the common currency'" (6, 188). It was probably due to the story of the oracle that Julian calls Diogenes a "sacred personage" (7, 212).

Cercidas, a poet, soldier and statesman of the 3rd century B. C. is said to have called Diogenes "a true-born son of Zeus, a dog of heaven" (D. L. 6, 77). The "son of Zeus" is a translation of the name Diogenes, but the origin of the "dog of heaven" is not so clear. In the 7th Letter of Diogenes we find; "Do not grieve, father, because I am called "Dog" and wear a double cloak. . . . Although the name is not suitable, it is in a sense an honorable

symbol. I am called a dog of heaven, not of earth, because I resemble the former, living not according to opinion, but according to nature, free under Zeus. . . . Take courage then, O father, with respect to the name . . . since the dog comes from the gods and the cloak is an invention of the gods." The Greek heaven (οὐρᾶνός) meant the sky or the region of the stars, and there was a star which was called the dog-star. Philo says; "The name dog is beyond all question a homonym, inasmuch as it comprehends many dissimilar things . . . for there is a terrestrial barking animal called a dog; there is also a marine monster with the same name; there is also the star in heaven, which the poets call the autumnal star. . . . Moreover, there were the philosophers who came from the Cynic school" (About the Planting of Noah). If we can imagine an apothegm similar to the following, it may serve to throw light on this question; "Diogenes being called "Dog" replied, 'There is also a dog in heaven.'" The following, from the 4th century A. D., has this meaning: "'Tell me, dog, whose tomb is this?' 'It is a dog's.' 'But what dog was that?' 'Diogenes.' 'And is he passed away?' 'Not passed away, but gone away.' 'What, has that Diogenes gone to the shades, whose wealth was his wallet and whose house was an earthen jar?' 'Cerberus will not let him in.' 'Where is he gone then?' 'Where the bright star of Leo burns he has been installed now as watch dog for righteous Erigone'" (Ausonius, Epitaph 28).

Theodor Gomperz' account of Diogenes merits in many respects a classification as a modern contribution to the Diogenes Legend; an example is as follows: "There is much significance in the mere fact that the 'Republic' of Diogenes, a work whose genuineness has been questioned, but which is amply guaranteed by the testimony of the earliest Stoics, contained the picture of an ideal political and social order. It proves that the vagrancy and the mendicancy of the Cynics, as also their withdrawal from public affairs, were regarded by the founders of the school as temporary makeshifts, and not intended as permanent and normal elements of the perfect life. The leading features of their ideal were the

removal of all barriers that divide man from man, that is to say, the abolition of national and social distinctions and of privileges based on sex. The form of government which they proposed was doubtless an enlightened and provident despotism" (Greek Thinkers, Vol. 2, p. 160).

D. L. quotes Sosicrates and Satyrus as saying that "Diogenes left nothing in writing" (6, 80). Satyrus wrote in Alexandria in 221-204 B. C.; he is called by Athenaeus a Peripatetic and his biography of Diogenes is the earliest of which we have any information. Sosicrates was a citizen of Rhodes who lived in the period 200—128 B. C. D. L. gives us two lists of the alleged writings of Diogenes, of which the first is undated and uncredited and the second has the authority of Sotion, who wrote at Alexandria 200—170 B. C. The Republic appears in the first list but not in the second. Thus the testimony of Satyrus, Sosicrates and Sotion is against the authenticity of the Republic attributed to Diogenes. Gomperz bases his opinion on the testimony of Philodemus, 1st century B. C., who says that the Republic of Diogenes was accepted by Cleanthes and Chrysippus, but also says that it was rejected by the Stoics of his own time. Julian writes; "If the Cynics had composed treatises with any serious purposes . . . it would have been proper for my opponent to be guided by them . . . but nothing of that sort exists" (6, 186). Julian mentions the tragedies attributed to Diogenes but disputes their authenticity; his failure to mention the Republic seems to indicate that its claims to authenticity had been generally abandoned in his time. In view of this concurrence of testimony, the admission of Gomperz that the genuineness of the Republic of Diogenes "has been questioned" appears in the light of an understatement.

If the Cynics had entertained any such ideas of government as that which Gomperz imagines, they would have been in sympathy with the Roman empire and probably would have enjoyed the favor and support of the Roman emperors; but, on the contrary, in the 1st century A. D. they were conspicuous in their opposition to the emperors and were expelled from Rome by Vespasian and again by Domitian. The opinion of Von Fritz,

that the Republic of Diogenes made war on every law and government (Quellen-Untersuchungen pp. 59-60) is more in accord with our information than is this conjecture of Gomperz. W. Windelband writes: "When Diogenes called himself a cosmopolitan, there was in this no trace of the ideal thought of a community of all men, but only the denial of his adherence to any civilized community" (History of Philosophy, 2, 8).

Gomperz' belief in the authenticity of the Republic of Diogenes is based on the following passage from Philodemus. "It is agreed that the Republic (of Zeno) is wholly bad . . . (the teachings) of Antisthenes and of Diogenes were put together, hence (it appears that) they (Stoics) wish to be called Socratics. It is worthy of mention that most of the teaching of the Stoa received its growth from Zeno, and the Stoics all say that they received the first elements of this instruction from him. . . . Some persons of our time disagree about the Republic attributed to Diogenes, trying to exculpate the Stoa, but it must be said that it is by Diogenes and betrays his style, as the catalogue lists and the libraries prove. And Cleanthes, in his book 'Concerning the Cloak' mentions and praises it and gives an explication of its general arrangements and of some parts in particular. And Chrysippus in his book 'Concerning the City and Law' recalls it. . . . And in his book 'Concerning things which are not in themselves worthy of choice' he said that Diogenes laid down a law that knuckle bones should be made legal currency. And this occurs in his book 'Concerning the Republic' and also in the first book 'To those who have other explanations of wisdom.' At the same time he also in his book 'According to the Life which is according to Nature' mentions it and the unholy things therein. And in his fourth book 'On Beauty and Pleasure,' he frequently mentions this book and the things contained in it with praise. And in his book 'Concerning Justice' the teaching concerning cannibalism . . . Diogenes himself in the Atreus and in the Oedipus and in the Philiscus sets down as commendable most of the base and unholy things in his Republic. And Antipater, in his book 'On the Sects,' mentions the Republic of Zeno and the teaching of Diogenes which he

(Zeno) set down in his Republic, and was amazed at their callousness. And some say, ' But the Republic is not by the Sinopean, but some other (Diogenes). For it is some evil person, not Diogenes ' " (On the Stoics, Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde, W. Crönert, Vol. 6, p. 55).

Philodemus was an Epicurean and his treatise " On the Stoics " was a polemic, in which he fastens upon them the odium of being connected with the Cynics, whom he describes in unflattering terms, and with the Republic of Zeno, which seems to have been taken largely from the Republic of Diogenes. The acceptance of the Republic of Diogenes by Cleanthes and Chrysippus is not irrefragable proof of its authenticity, for in their period many spurious writings, including dialogues and letters of Socrates, were accepted as genuine.

It is noted that the Republic of Diogenes was rejected by later Stoics, some of whom said it was written, not by the Sinopean, but by another (Diogenes). Who was this other Diogenes? We find in the Lexicon of Suidas; " Diogenes, or Oenomaus, an Athenian tragic poet, lived at the time of the overthrow of the Thirty. His tragedies were Achilles, Helen, Hercules, Thyestes, Medea, Oedipus, Chrysippus and Semele." The names of these tragedies are identical with those listed by D. L. among the writings of Diogenes of Sinope (6, 80), with the addition of Semele. The " Thyestes " listed by Suidas and D. L. is probably the same as the " Atreus " mentioned by Philodemus. The government of the Thirty terminated in 403 B. C. and hence this Diogenes-Oenomaus was a contemporary of Socrates (E. Rohde, Kleine Schriften 1, p. 182). Diogenes the tragic poet is mentioned and quoted as the author of " Semele " by Athenaeus (Deip. 14, 636). Stobaeus gives us fragments of two poems by a tragic poet named Diogenes (Flor. 3, 75, 1 and Flor. 2, 64, 1; cf. Aelian, V. H., 3, 30).

We learn from the passage quoted above from Philodemus that the point of view and the opinions expressed in these tragedies were the same as those of the Republic of Diogenes, which indicates that they probably came from the same author. The tragedies and the Republic may have been written before the arrival of

the Sinopean in Greece and they may have failed to find buyers—perhaps on account of their foul language and the shocking opinions which they expressed. The foulness of their language is commented on by Clemens Alexandrinus (Stromata 2, 20), by Apuleius (Apologia 9) and by Julian (7, 210).* These writings may have collected dust on the shelves of Athenian book-sellers until the rise in fame of Diogenes of Sinope enabled them to be sold as writings of the Sinopean. We may infer that the Sinopean was a man who could readily be believed to be their author. Frauds of this kind were common (Gudeman, Literary Frauds among the Greeks; Heidel, Pseudo-Platonica). D. L. tells of two writers who made their books over to Menippus as a person able to dispose of them advantageously; the books were then sold as writings of Menippus (6, 100).

The following was probably taken from the Republic of Diogenes; " He (Diogenes) advocated community of wives, recognizing no other marriage than a union of the man who persuades with the woman who consents " (D. L. 6, 72). It is confirmed by the following; " It is also their (Stoic) doctrine that amongst the wise there should be a community of wives with free choice of partners, as Zeno says in his Republic and Chrysippus in his treatise On Government, and not only they but also Diogenes the Cynic and Plato " (D. L. 7, 131). Aristotle says; " Other constitutions have been proposed . . . which all come nearer to established or existing ones than either of Plato's. No one else has introduced such novelties as the community of woman and children, or public tables for women " (Politica 1266a30). This was written about 330 B. C. According to the accepted chronology Diogenes was then over eighty years old. If the Republic attributed to him appeared in his lifetime it must have been in his extreme old age.

E. Rohde, in commenting on a romance by Iambulus in which the inhabitants of a mythical island are described as living ideal lives under a Utopian system, advances the opinion that the system described was suggested by the Republic of Zeno, which, as

* Vide supra, p. 14.

we learn from Philodemus, was based on the Republic of Diogenes. In the story of Iambulus the people live in small groups without any state government and a community of women and children prevails in these groups. As these are family groups it involves incest (Der Griechische Roman, p. 240, Note). The system described resembles what is called Syndicalism, a form of anarchy. This deduction of E. Rohde seems more plausible than that of Gomperz, for the Republic of Zeno is said to have prohibited the building of temples, law courts and gymnasia and also the use of currency (D. L. 7, 33), all of which pertain to state governments. Philodemus' statement that the Republic of Diogenes prescribed the use of dice or knucklebones for currency is supported by Athenaeus (Deip. 4, 159); this is of interest as an early suggestion of the use of fiat or printing press money. In the Pseudo-Callisthenes writings, dating about the 4th century A. D., an ideal people, the Bragmani, are described as living happy lives without law courts or any law except the law of nature; this seems to be a Cynic Utopia.

Of the other writings attributed to Diogenes, the Cephalion is named in both lists and is mentioned by Athenaeus (Deip. 4, 164); the Pordalus appears in both lists and is quoted by D. L. (6, 20). Letters are included in both lists and fifty-one Letters have come down to us; but we do not know that the Letters of the second list are the same as those of the first or that the Letters which we have are the same as those of either list. That the Letters which we have possess considerable antiquity is indicated by the fact that the 16th Letter is quoted by D. L. (6, 23), the 23rd Letter is quoted by Saint Basil (9th Letter) and the 30th Letter is quoted in the 6th Letter of Crates. Scholars are generally of the opinion that the Letters which we have belong to the 2nd and 1st centuries B. C. and that they are the work of several different authors (Von Fritz, Quel.-Unters. p. 64; W. Capelle, De Cynicorum Epistulis). The value of these Letters consists in giving us information of Cynic ideas and of the Diogenes Legend at the time of their production. In them we note that Diogenes is represented as the leader of an established and well known sect

having many members; this feature would tend to locate them as late as the 2nd century B. C. The Letters are noticeably deficient in mentions of contemporaneous events and personal incidents such as are usually found in genuine letters. Where localities are mentioned, Diogenes is usually represented as being in Athens or as going from or returning to that city. The Letters appear to have been written in Athens and illustrate the tendency of the Diogenes literature to drift to Athens. There is no mention in them of any oracle, of a divine mission or of "changing the currency," but Diogenes is represented as an exile from Sinope. There is no reference to his being captured and offered for sale or of his being a slave; he is described as going from place to place in perfect freedom and as having no occupation other than teaching. However, the 34th Letter of Crates contains an account of his being captured and offered for sale—an account which appears to have been taken from Menippus. There appear to have been Letters of Diogenes which were known in antiquity but have not come down to us. Epictetus mentions and quotes a Letter from Diogenes to the king of Persia (Arrian 4, 1, 30 and 4, 1, 156) and Julian writes, "Was not that royal advice which he (Diogenes) wrote to Archidamus?" (7, 212). These Letters do not appear in our collection.

Von Fritz calls attention to the fact that the two lists of the writings of Diogenes differ greatly, and that the second list has some titles which do not appear in the first and which were favorite subjects of discussion among the Stoics; he says that the changes "seem to show that Sotion had in mind a Stoic edition of Diogenes' writings" (Quellen-Untersuchungen pp. 55-59). The lists show that many of the first list were rejected and that some were replaced by new ones; it is probable that those whose titles appear on both lists were revised and edited. Parts of the doxographic portion of D. L.'s biography of Diogenes (6, 70 ff.) which are inconsistent with other information of Diogenes but which accord with Stoic teaching may have been taken from the writings listed by Sotion. These Stoicised writings attributed to Diogenes may have played an important rôle in developing the

Diogenes Legend; they may have been the chief means of elevating Diogenes to sainthood and have been the source of Epictetus' conception of him as a "minister of God" (Arrian 3, 24, 64). But the majority of the Cynics were probably illiterate and it is not likely that these illiterates were influenced by the writings of Antisthenes or by changes in the writings of Diogenes. Illiterates do not accept changes readily and usually follow oral traditions with great fidelity; it is probable that side by side with the Stoic saint of Epictetus there was an oral tradition of a Diogenes of whom we gain some information from certain unquotable pages of Dio Chrysostom. We note that in the Christian era exaggerated praise of Diogenes is concurrent with expressions of contempt for the Cynics. Did the Cynics fall away from the standards of Diogenes or was Diogenes elevated by the Stoics beyond their ken? Epictetus and Julian express the former opinion but there are reasons for believing the latter to be more nearly true.

Whether or not the writings attributed to Diogenes were actually written by him, these writings were important in the early history of both the Cynics and Stoics. They were regarded as expressing his ideas and these ideas formed a part of Cynicism and of early Stoicism. A number of incidents show a gradual development of the Stoics away from Cynic teaching:—(1) Zeno rejected the Cynic shamelessness (D. L. 7, 3); (2) The Republic, tragedies and other items were omitted from Sotion's list of the writings of Diogenes (D. L. 6, 80); (3) The Republic was repudiated by the Stoics and said to be the work of "some evil person" (Philodemus, On the Stoics); (4) Attempts were made to free Diogenes from the odium of having written the tragedies (D. L. 6, 73 and 80; Julian 6, 186; Ibid. 7, 210); (5) Writing in the 1st century B. C. Philodemus says, "It is agreed that the Republic (of Zeno) is wholly bad," and describes the attempt of the Stoics to excuse him on the ground that he was young when he wrote it (On the Stoics); (6) The attempt of Athenodorus to expunge objectionable passages from this book (D. L. 7, 34). This retrogression from Cynicism was accompanied by an assimilation of Socratic ideas and the claim of descent from Socrates

through Antisthenes. The adoption of Antisthenes as a leader played a part in the change through the influence of his writings. These changes affected the character of the legendary Diogenes, who, in the hands of the Stoics, became a Socratic.

The Cynics were influenced to some extent by these changes; they modified their conception of shamelessness and adopted the word "virtue" without its Socratic significance. Some of them accepted Antisthenes as a leader and Hercules as a model without the ideas which Antisthenes connected with him. Our information of the Diogenes Legend comes largely or mainly through the Stoics, but we have no reason for believing that the Cynics accepted all of the Stoic conceptions of Diogenes.

The Diogenes of the Legend passed through several phases, some of which are incompatible with others. The stages of development of the Legend are not well defined nor readily assignable to chronological epochs.

(1) He became a philosopher through being exiled (D. L. 6, 49; Plutarch, On Contentedness of Mind 6; Stobaeus, Flor. 2, 40, 9). Mentions of him which date prior to the 2nd century B. C. do not connect him with Antisthenes.

(2) He was an original investigator whose philosophy was derived from reflection upon the results of his own observation (6th, 13th and 42nd Letters of Diogenes; D. L. 6, 22 and 37; Julian 6, 187). His philosophy was acquired chiefly from observation of the lower animals (16th and 36th Letters of Diogenes; Dio Chrysostom 10, 29-30; Lucian, Cynicus 14-15; D. L. 6, 33 and 60).

(3) Diogenes was a pupil of Antisthenes but obtained his first inspiration from gods and heroes, notably Ulysses and Telephus, through the writings of Homer and other poets (1st, 7th and 34th Letters of Diogenes; 19th Letter of Crates).

(4) He received one or two lessons from Antisthenes and entered at once upon the short road to happiness; he sought happiness for himself (12th, 30th and 37th Letters of Diogenes; 6th, 13th, 16th, 20th and 21st Letters of Crates; Julian 6, 201).

(5) He was a disciple of Antisthenes and put into practice principles taught by him, which Antisthenes failed to do (Dio Chrysostom 8, 2-3; Stobaeus, Flor. 1, 13, 19; 6th Letter of Crates).

(6) He was a disciple and follower of Antisthenes and imitated his way of life; he was a teacher of virtue (D. L. 6, 15 and 21; Hieronymus, Adv. Jovianum 2, 14; Aelian, V. H., 10, 16; Epiphanius, Adv. Haeres 3, 2, 9, 27; Claudius Galenus, Hist. Philos. G 3).

(7) Diogenes was a follower and imitator of Hercules (D. L. 6, 71; Lucian, Vitarum auctio 10; Julian 6, 187): he obtained his knowledge of Hercules from Antisthenes (Ausonius, Epigrams 46 and 47).

(8) The Diogenes of Epictetus is a minister of God (3, 24, 64) and a scout sent to inform us that we have no cause for fear or unhappiness (1, 24, 6-8; 3, 22, 24 and 45).

(9) Diogenes received a response from an oracle which he accepted as a divine mission and made the guide of his life (Maximus Tyrius 36, 5-6; Julian 6, 188; D. L. 6, 71). The Legend appears to have entered this phase in the 2nd century A. D.; in it Antisthenes becomes unimportant or is dropped altogether.

(10) There was also the oral tradition of those whom Julian calls "uneducated Cynics" (Or. 6 and 7). We have no complete information of this tradition, but attempts have been made in the preceding essays on "Greek Cynicism" and "Diogenes of Sinope" to show its probable nature.

Some difficulty is experienced in tracing the Diogenes Legend due to the fact that the Sinopean was not the only Diogenes. We find in D. L.'s list of the writings of Theophrastus a "Compendium of the Writings of Diogenes, one book" (5, 43); von Fritz (Quel.-Unters. p. 36) and D. R. Dudley (A History of Cynicism, p. 19) interpret this as referring to Diogenes of Sinope. The writings of Diogenes of Apollonia, the physicist, were of interest to Aristotle and it is likely that they were of interest also

to Theophrastus; but, even if the writings attributed to the Sinopean were known in the time of Theophrastus, they do not appear to have been of a character likely to interest him. Plutarch quotes Diogenes Apollonius and Diogenes of Sinope without giving their distinctive designations. The mention of the writings of Diogenes by Hieronymus (Letter 60, 5) probably relates to Diogenes of Babylon, the Stoic.

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Epictetus, fl. about 90 A. D., Arrian 2, 3 and 13; 3, 2, 22 and 24; 4, 1; Encheiridion 15; Fragments 57.

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M. Cornelius Fronto, 100-166 A. D., Vat. 4, 189; Ambr. 392-400.

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Maximus Tyrius, about 120-180 A. D., Dissertatio 36, 5-6.

M. Aurelius Antoninus, 121-180 A. D., Thoughts 8, 3.

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Theophilus Antiochenus, 77-169 A. D., Ad Autolycum 3, 5.

Claudius Galenus, about 131-201 A. D., Histor. Philos, G, 3.

Clemens Alexandrinus, fl. 192-217 A. D., Paed. 3, 3; Strom. 2, 20-22; 4, 19; 7, 4, 712; Protrept. 2 and 6.

Tertullian, about 160-240 A. D., Ad Nationes 2; Apologeticus 14, 39 and 46; Advers. Marcion 1, 1; De Pallio.

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Athenaeus, early 3rd cent. A. D., Deipnosophistae 3, 113 f.; 4, 158 f.; 6, 254 c; 8, 341 e; 13, 565 e and 588.

Firmianus Lactantius, 3rd cent. A. D., Divinum Institit. 3, 25; Instit. Epitome 34.

Claudius Aelianus, fl. 218-235 A. D., Varia Historia 3, 29; 4, 11 and 27; 8, 14; 9, 19, 28 and 34; 10, 11 and 16; 12, 56 and 58; 13, 26 and 28; 14, 33.

Censorinus, fl. 238 A. D., De Die Natali 15, 2.

Eusebius Pamphili, 264-340 A. D., Praep. Evang. 15, 13, 6.

Ausonius, 310-393 A. D., Poems 3, 1; Epitaphs 28, 29, 30; Epigrams 47.

Bouriant Papyrus, 4th century A. D., 1-5.

Tiberianus, fl. 335 A. D., Fulgentius, Vergiliana Continentia 154.

Basilius Magnus (Saint Basil), 326-380 A. D., 9th Letter.

Gregorius Nazianzenus (St. Gregory), 326-389 A. D., Epistola 98; Oratio 4, 1, 72; 25, 2 and 7; Poemata Theologica 2.

Emperor Julian (Flavius Claudius Julianus), 331-363 A. D., 6th and 7th Orations.

Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, 320-403 A. D., Advers. Haeres. 3, 29.

Hieronymus (St. Jerome), 331-422 A. D., Adversus Jovianum 2, 14.

Saint Augustine, 354-430 A. D., De Civitate Dei 14, 20.

Ioannes Stobaeus, late 5th century A. D., Florilegium, Eclogae.

Antonius Confessor and Maximus Monachus, 7th century A. D.

Gnomologium Vaticanum, date unknown.

Suidas, 10th century A. D., Lexicon.

INDEX

Academy, academic, 54-56, 66-68, 93.
Aelian, 34, 40, 58-59, 74, 89-90, 92, 97, 108-110, 122, 128.
Aeschylus, 40.
Agnostic, agnosticism, 23, 40, 43, 64.
Ajax, 55.
Alcibiades, 56, 63.
Alexander, 12-13, 39-40, 42-44, 46, 71, 82-88, 90-91, 96-97, 100, 110-114.
Alexandria, Alexandrian, 39, 46, 87, 120.
Alien, 20, 31, 64, 98.
Anarchy, anarchist, 5, 13, 112, 124.
Anaxarchus, 16, 40, 46.
Animalism, 1, 30, 75, 127.
Anti-intellectualism, 6, 29, 75.
Antipater, 113, 121.
Antisthenes, 20, 22, 29, 32, 34-36, 48-71, 73-76, 78, 81, 104-105, 117-118, 121, 126-128.
Apathy, 6, 10, 14-15, 17, 26, 38, 42, 68, 79, 105.
Apollo, 9, 65, 118.
Apollodorus, 3, 88.
Apophthegm, 103, 106, 119.
Apuleius, 14, 18, 40-41, 93-94, 112, 123.
Archidamus, 13, 113, 125.
Aristippus, 31-32, 34, 50, 56, 64, 107-108.
Ariston, 16, 102.
Aristophanes, 30, 37, 53.
Aristotle, 6, 8, 32, 50-52, 56, 65-67, 70, 75-76, 85, 87, 94, 109, 128.
Arrian, 40-41, 43, 84, 91, 112.
Ascetic, asceticism, 7, 36, 43, 80, 106.
Asia, 28, 39, 44, 46, 80, 83-84, 106.
Atheist, Atheism, 43, 64.
Athenaeus, 15, 18-19, 27, 55-56, 58, 87-89, 102, 120, 122, 124.
Athenian, Athenians, 19, 31, 37, 48, 63, 81, 83, 85, 87, 109, 114, 122-123.
Athens, 27, 30-31, 33, 69, 74-76, 81, 83-87, 90, 92, 95, 98, 108, 110, 112, 125.
Athletics, 28, 29.
Attica, 85, 87, 107.
Augustine, Saint, 19.
Ausonius, 104, 119, 128.
Babylon, 3, 39-40, 45-46, 88.
Banquet, 57, 107-109.
Beating, 11, 18-19, 30.
Beg, beggar, 3, 8, 10, 14, 21-22, 24, 27, 36, 44, 58, 63, 66, 76-77, 85, 88, 94, 98, 104, 106.
Bernays, J., 62.
Bion, 23, 60, 107.
Bouriant papyrus, 103.
Brochard, 40.
Burnet, John, 6, 29.

Callias, 49, 61, 69.
Callousness, 14, 122.
Campbell, 48.
Cannibalism, 25, 44-46, 62, 121.
Caspian Sea, 39.
Caste, 10, 38, 41, 76.
Celibacy, 19-20, 38, 44.
Censorinus, 88-89.
Cercidas, 27, 118.
Cherniss, H., 52.
Children, 9, 13, 15, 19-20, 24-25, 30, 46, 59, 93-94, 123-124.
Christian, Christianity, 7, 25, 28, 46.
Chrysippus, 8, 25, 55, 67, 120-123.
Cicero, 5-6, 18, 22-23, 38, 50, 54-56, 64, 68, 84, 89-90, 96, 110-112.
Civilization, 1-2, 41, 71.
Citizen, citizenship, 6, 11-12, 27, 30-31, 37, 41, 60, 69, 93-94, 115.
Class, 11, 38, 41-42, 103.
Cleanthes, 25, 67, 76, 120-122.
Clemens Alexandrinus, 14, 18, 58-59, 62-64, 93, 116, 123.
Clitarchus, 41.
Cloak, 4, 9-10, 18, 21-24, 34-37, 58, 77, 86-88, 94, 118-119, 121.
Contradiction, 50-52, 55-57.
Contributions, 4, 19, 42, 44, 77, 79, 119.
Convention, 11, 68, 73, 79, 105, 117.
Coins, coinage, 59, 72.
Corinth, 9, 74, 81-90, 92, 95, 98, 100, 111, 115, 117.
Cosmopolitanism, 12, 31, 121.
Country, 12-13, 17-19, 27, 95.

Craneum, 9, 83-84, 92, 111, 115.
Crates, 2-3, 12, 15-16, 18-20, 22, 35-37, 60, 66, 70-71, 86, 93-94, 102, 106.
Crönert, 60, 102, 122.
Cup, 1, 34, 99.
Currency, 45, 65, 71-73, 79, 117-118, 121, 124-125.
Custom, 12, 17-18, 37, 40, 42-46, 73, 92.
Cynosarges, 34, 65-67, 87.
Cyrus, 39, 54, 57, 61, 63-64.

Dandanis, 43-44.
Darius, 45-46.
Death, 8, 15-16, 22, 29, 45, 48, 61, 74, 82, 88-91, 102.
Demetrius, 55, 88, 93.
Demonax, 9, 13, 27, 29.
Desire, 4, 10-11, 38, 43, 71.
De Strycker, 53.
Diagoras, 62, 107.
Diels, H., 65, 73, 118.
Dio Cassius, 14, 21, 114.
Dio Chrysostom, 1-2, 4, 6, 8-10, 17-19, 21, 23, 25, 27, 44-46, 63, 69-71, 73-74, 78, 80-81, 84-85, 87, 92-93, 95-97, 101-102, 110-111, 113, 118, 126-128.
Diocles, 35, 71-72.
Diodorus, 35-36, 55.
Diogenes Apollonius, 95, 128-129.
Diogenes of Babylon, 129.
Diogenes Laertius, 1-3, 5-9, 11-12, 16, 18-25, 29, 34-40, 43-46, 54-66, 68-82, 84, 86-93, 95-97, 99-111, 113, 115-118, 120, 122-128.
Diogenes Sinopeus, 1-5, 7-9, 11-16, 18-26, 29, 31-32, 34-36, 38-40, 42-47, 53, 55, 59-62, 65-129.
Diogenes tragicus, 122.
Dionysius, 32, 88, 107, 113.
Disrepute, 4, 11, 17-18, 27, 73, 95.
Dog, dogs, 10, 14-15, 18, 22, 26, 36, 46, 61, 65-67, 76, 87, 89, 92, 99, 108, 110-112, 115-116, 118-119.
Domitian, 114, 120.
Dudley, D. R., 21, 27, 59, 72, 95, 128.
Dümmler, 48, 52-54, 79, 107.

Education, 7, 20, 63-64, 75, 79, 104.
Endurance, 11, 26, 42-43, 99.
Epicurean, Epicurus, 4-5, 77, 122.
Epictetus, 7, 10, 13-14, 16, 18, 20, 25-27, 38, 54, 58, 68, 78, 89-90, 96, 99, 113-114, 117, 125-126, 128.
Ethics, 3, 17, 24, 54.
Eubulides, 71.
Eubulus, 79, 82, 117.
Euclides, 21, 78.
Eusebius, 22, 45-46, 58.
Euxine Sea, 39.
Exile, 4, 8-9, 11, 13, 16, 18, 31, 59, 65, 71, 73, 76-77, 125, 127.

Favorinus, 107.
Fear, 24-25, 43, 128.
Fire, 3, 33, 62-63.
Flogging, 14, 19, 114.
Food, 1-2, 8-10, 22, 44, 76, 87, 96.
Freedom, 7, 11-13, 17-18, 20, 31-32, 62, 80, 87, 90, 106, 125.
Freedom of speech, 13-14, 17, 22, 28, 44.
Friends, friendship, 13, 15-16, 28, 30, 32-33, 39, 49, 69, 77, 95.
Fronto, 55, 76, 78.

God, 10, 20, 23, 38, 42, 64, 99, 126, 128.
Gods, 6, 9, 23, 29, 32, 34, 36, 39, 46, 63, 77, 101, 106, 119.
Gomperz, T., 119-121, 124.
Goodness, 6, 25, 64.
Greek, Greeks, 16, 24, 27, 29, 33, 38, 40-42, 44-47, 71-72, 75, 77-78, 83, 85, 98, 103, 113-115.
Gregory Nazianzen, 7, 9, 22, 85, 89, 95, 113.
Grote, G., 100, 111.
Gymnosophists, 40-41, 44.

Happiness, 2, 4, 8, 11, 15, 24, 29, 31, 33-34, 38, 58, 71, 96, 104, 106, 127.
Hardihood, 6, 11, 68, 70, 79.
Hardships, 2-4, 8, 11, 19-20, 24, 33, 42, 49, 57, 63, 93, 95, 106.
Heaven, 23-24, 62, 118-119.
Hedonism, hedonist, 3, 5, 106.
Helm, R., 62, 116.
Heraclitus, 29, 50, 99.
Hercher, 64.
Hercules, 4, 8, 11, 17, 29, 32-33, 57, 61-63, 105, 117, 127-128.
Hermippus, 35.

Herodotus, 40, 45-46.
Hesiod, 7, 29.
Hieronymus, 22, 34, 54, 60, 87, 89-90, 101-102, 128-129.
Hippobotus, 24, 93.
Homer, 7, 9, 20, 29, 36, 75, 95, 127.
Honesty, 5-6, 99-100.
Horace, 18, 108.

Iambulus, 123-124.
Ignorance, ignorant, 20-21, 23, 63, 104.
Illiteracy, illiterate, 21, 126.
Improvidence, 22.
Incest, 6, 25, 46, 63, 124.
Indecency, 18-19, 81, 95.
India, Indian, 16, 40-46, 60, 77, 91.
Indifference, 6, 8, 10, 15-17, 20, 26, 29, 31, 38, 40, 79, 94-95, 97, 103, 105.
Indolence, 10, 15, 30-31, 47, 76, 94-95.
Insanity, 25, 94, 96-97.
Isocrates, 30-31, 49-50, 56, 70.
Isthmus, 83-84, 86, 111, 115.

Julian, 1-2, 6, 10, 14, 18, 21-23, 25-27, 29-30, 45-46, 54, 63, 65, 67, 73-74, 81, 89, 93, 96, 99, 105-106, 113, 117-118, 120, 123, 125-128.
Juvenal, 112.

Labor, 7-10, 27, 31-34, 39, 41, 57, 62-63, 76, 80, 85, 95, 97, 117.
Lacedaemonian, 13, 99, 113.
Lactantius, 8, 64, 76, 116.
Lamp, 96, 99-100.
Landor, W. S., 26, 81, 101.
Law, 12, 17, 30, 37, 43, 46, 68, 92, 121, 124.
Leo, F., 86, 88.
Letters, 1-3, 5, 7, 12, 15-20, 22-25, 29, 33-34, 36-37, 39, 44, 60-65, 75-77, 79, 81-82, 84-86, 89-91, 93, 95-97, 100, 112-113, 116-118, 127-128.
Lucian, 1, 4-6, 8-9, 13-14, 16, 19, 21-22, 24-25, 27, 29, 41, 55, 62, 75, 81, 89, 117-118, 127-128.

Macedonia, Macedonian, 82-83, 85, 112.
Mandanis, 42-43, 92.
Manes, 74, 92, 96, 108.
Marriage, 5, 9, 19-20, 59, 123.
Martialis, 10.
Maximus Tyrius, 3, 9, 12, 16, 19-20, 27, 65, 74, 118, 128.
Megasthenes, 40, 45-46.
Mendicancy, mendicant, 29, 44, 119.
Menippus, 26, 82, 96, 116-117, 123, 125.
Metrocles, 102, 107-108.
Miletus, 18, 39, 71.
Money, 25, 27, 31, 39, 72-74, 76, 77, 83, 124.
Montaigne, 80, 97.
Mouse, 1, 74-75, 108-110.
Müller, Adolf, 48, 55, 69.

Natorp, P., 52, 68.
Nature, 1, 7, 12, 22, 30, 42, 46, 64, 68-69, 92.

Oedipus, 46, 62, 121.
Oenomaus, 6, 25, 29, 122.
Olympia, Olympic, 18, 89-90.
Olympiodorus, 86, 102.
Olynthus, 83, 101.
Onesicritus, 42-43, 60, 91, 111.
Opinion, 15, 17-18, 42, 46, 48, 50-52, 59, 65, 67-68, 97, 104, 119.
Oracle, 65, 71, 73, 118, 125, 128.
Orphic, 29, 36.
Oxus River, 39.

Packmohr, A., 32, 62, 99, 106.
Pauly-Wissowa, 52, 68.
Pausanias, 115.
Perdiccas, 113-114.
Persaeus, 74, 102.
Persia, Persian, 4, 13, 23, 46, 63, 71, 96, 111-114, 125.
Petronius, 37.
Philip, 8-9, 83, 113.
Philo, 11, 22, 46, 67, 82, 96, 99, 116, 119.
Philodemus, 6, 13-14, 19, 22, 25-26, 44, 60, 62, 67, 70, 120-122, 124, 126.
Philosopher, philosophy, 1-2, 12-13, 15, 18, 21-23, 26-30, 37-38, 40-41, 44, 47, 50-51, 53-54, 58, 60-61, 64-65, 67-70, 75-78, 95, 101, 106, 109, 111-113, 118-119, 127.
Phocion, 81, 114.
Pirates, 6, 15, 82, 96, 116-117.
Plato, 6, 21, 29-30, 32-33, 36-38, 48-49, 51-58, 60, 64, 67-68, 70-71, 74, 76, 78-79, 97, 101, 103-104, 107-108, 112-113, 116-117, 123.

Pleasure, 2-5, 8, 14, 17, 20, 31, 33, 42, 49, 57-58, 80, 93, 95.
Pliny, 39, 41.
Plutarch, 3, 8, 14, 21, 43-46, 55, 63, 77, 80, 84, 87, 89, 91-92, 100-101, 103, 105, 109-111, 113-114, 116, 127, 129.
Polemo, 68.
Poverty, 4, 6, 16, 18, 20, 24-25, 37, 49, 54, 76, 79, 104, 106.
Prodicus, 32-33, 35, 61.
Property, 12, 17, 49, 93-95, 100.
Protagoras, 6-7.
Pseudo-Callisthenes, 124.
Pyrrho, 16, 40, 46.
Pythagoras, Pythagorean, 27, 35-36, 38, 40, 42-43, 60.

Rack, 19, 98.
Religion, religious, 28, 47, 105, 110.
Republic, 25, 70, 119-124, 126.
Rich, riches, 17, 21, 23, 47-49, 104.
Road to happiness, 3, 33, 91, 106, 127.
" " virtue, 3.
Robinson, D. M., 40, 101, 116.
Rohde, E., 122-124.
Rome, Roman, 12-14, 21, 26, 38, 98, 114, 120.
Ross, W. D. 52, 54.
Rudberg, G., 103.
Rulers, 13, 31, 64, 80, 112-113.

Sale, 15, 96, 116-117, 125.
Satho, 55-56.
Satyrus, 22, 87, 102, 111, 120.
Schwartz, E., 65, 91, 94, 112.
Scrip, 22, 37, 44, 87.
Sect, 65, 67, 69, 105, 124.
Self-sufficiency, 23.
Seneca, 1, 9, 14, 16, 25-26, 74, 108, 112-113.
Shamelessness, 18, 22, 42, 67, 81, 126-127.
Sicily, 32, 107, 116.
Sinope, 7, 9, 39-40, 45-46, 59, 71-72, 74-77, 84, 92, 96, 115-116, 118, 125.
Slave, slavery, 11-12, 17, 24, 31, 74-75, 82, 92, 96, 108, 116-117, 125.
Snail, 1, 100.
Socrates, Socratic, 6, 9, 12, 17, 23, 26-27, 30-35, 38, 40, 42-43, 46, 48-53, 56-61, 63-65, 67-68, 70, 74, 78, 92-93, 97, 104-105, 112-113, 118, 121-122, 126-127.
Solon, 12, 76.
Sophist, 21, 30, 32, 40, 42, 50-51, 78, 92.
Sosicrates, 35, 120.
Sotades, 60, 88.
Sotion, 120, 125-126.
Sparta, Spartan, 37, 43, 80-81, 87, 103.
Staff, 10, 14, 18, 21-23, 34-36, 59, 77, 86, 88, 112.
Statue, 7, 43, 79-80, 115.
Stilpo, 93, 114.
Stoa, Stoic, 5, 8, 16-18, 21, 25-26, 32, 35, 37-38, 44, 46, 55-57, 59-60, 63, 66-68, 72, 76, 93-94, 102-103, 105-106, 108, 119-122, 125-127.
Stobaeus, 2, 15-16, 20, 23, 36-37, 55, 57, 60, 63, 69, 74, 77, 79, 87-88, 90, 93-94, 101-102, 107, 122, 127-128.
Strabo, 39-40, 42, 45, 60, 71, 91-92.
Suicide, 89.
Suidas, 66, 88-89, 122.
Swain, J. W., 7.

Tatian, 21, 23, 27, 89.
Taylor, A. E., 53.
Telephus, 2, 29, 62, 93, 127.
Teles, 2, 14-16, 36, 60, 74, 93-94, 101, 107-108.
Temples, 5, 10, 23, 55, 94, 101, 104-105.
Tertullian, 10, 23, 36-37, 62, 99, 114.
Thebes, Theban, 46, 83, 85, 93-94, 111.
Theodorus, 107-108.
Theophilus, 25, 44.
Theophrastus, 1, 74-75, 95-96, 108-110, 128-129.
Theopompus, 49-50, 52.
Tiberianus, 78.
Timaeus, 35, 56.
Timon, 54, 97.
Tragedies, 14, 22, 29, 46, 62, 75, 85, 93, 113, 120, 122, 126.
Tredennick, H., 48.
Tub, 1, 3, 7, 9, 97, 100, 112.

Ulysses, 2, 29, 36, 55, 61-62, 127.

Valerius Maximus, 84, 108, 112.
Vespasian, 114, 120.
Vice, 11, 33, 35, 58,
Vienna Papyrus, 92, 101, 110, 114.
Virtue, 3-8, 10, 19, 21-22, 24, 26, 32,

35-36, 38, 48, 57, 63, 76-77, 79, 106, 117, 127-128.
Von Arnim, 48, 50, 69, 90-92.
Von Fritz, 23, 46, 61, 66-67, 86, 90, 95, 106-108, 110, 114-116, 120, 124-125, 128.

Wallet, 1, 10, 14-15, 18, 23, 34-36, 44, 77, 80, 86, 88, 119.
War, warfare, 4-5, 9, 32-33.
Water, 1-2, 76, 106.
Wealth, 2, 20, 24, 31-32, 48-49, 57, 69, 76, 93, 104, 112, 119.
Weber, E., 53, 62.
Wife, 10-13, 19, 24, 94, 123.
Wilamowitz, 81.
Winckelmann, A. G., 55, 65.
Windelband, W., 67, 121.
Wisdom, 6, 8, 21, 24, 29, 39, 41, 48, 75, 82, 97, 111.
Wise man, 1, 5, 8-9, 20-22, 38, 41-43, 59-60, 75, 77-80, 83, 85, 97.

Xeniades, 79, 82, 90, 105, 117.
Xenocrates, 68.
Xenophanes, 29.
Xenophon, 18, 23, 31-33, 38, 46, 48-50, 52-58, 60-61, 64, 67, 69, 71, 75, 104.
Xerxes, 3.

Zeno, 19, 25, 67-68, 70, 74, 76, 78, 102, 121-124, 126.
Zeus, 12, 43-44, 65, 94, 114, 118-119.
Zoilus, 105.

VITA

I was born on a farm in Lewis County, Missouri, June 17, 1861. I attended a private school, the Monticello Seminary, Monticello, Mo., 1871-1878. In 1879-1880 I was a student at the Missouri State University. In Sept., 1879, I won a West Point cadetship in a competitive examination held at Hannibal, Mo. I graduated from the U. S. Military Academy in 1884 and was recommended for appointment as second lieutenant in Artillery, Cavalry or Infantry. I have since been awarded the degree of Bachelor of Science on account of having graduated from the Military Academy. I served continuously in the U. S. Army until I was retired on account of having reached the legal limit of age in 1925.

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I served as an instructor in the Department of Military Art in the Army Service Schools, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, for five years between 1906 and 1913; during this period I published a book entitled "Map Maneuvers and Tactical Rides," which was adopted for use in the Army Service Schools and authorized by the War Department for issue to the regular army and militia; I also assisted in the production of other books published by the Department.

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